

BULLETIN
OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

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BULLETIN

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

MANCHESTER

THE LIBRARY

OF THE

UNIVERSITY

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RULES AND REGULATIONS

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BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
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MANCHESTER

EDITED
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JANUARY, 1928

No. 1

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

BY the removal from Manchester of Professor C. H. Herford, Honorary Professor of English Literature of the University of Manchester, the library sustains a great loss.

CHANGES
IN THE
PERSON-
NEL OF
THE COUN-
CIL.

For twenty-five years Professor Herford has represented the University upon the Council of Governors, and throughout that period he has taken a deep and personal interest in the affairs of the library, being ever ready to offer guidance in the building up of the sections in which he was most directly interested.

At the November meeting of the Council, the Governors directed that there should be placed on the minutes an expression of regret at Professor Herford's removal, coupled with an expression of grateful appreciation of the great service their colleague had rendered during his long term of office, not only to the library proper, but to a much wider circle of students and readers, through the medium of his lectures and the resulting articles which have appeared, from time to time, in the pages of the BULLETIN.

As a mark of their appreciation of Professor Herford's services, and as the only honour which it is in their power to confer, the Governors appointed him a life honorary governor of the library.

Professor H. B. Charlton, the present occupant of the Chair of English Literature in the University of Manchester, has been appointed by the Council of the University as a representative governor in succession to Professor Herford.

On Friday, the 28th of October, a large and representative company assembled in the Whitworth Hall of the University of Manchester, to do honour to Professor C. H. Herford, who, prior to his retirement in 1926, had occupied the Chair of English Literature for twenty-five years, and had succeeded in developing a great school of literary study which now held its own with any school of investigation in that particular field.

PROFESSOR
HERFORD'S
PORTRAIT
PRESENTED TO
THE UNI-
VERSITY.

The occasion was marked by the presentation of a portrait painted by Mr. T. C. Dugdale, which was handed to the Chancellor of the University, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, by Dr. C. P. Scott, Professor Oliver Elton, and Professor S. Alexander on behalf of a large number of subscribers, whose names had been inscribed in a roll which the Chancellor presented to Professor Herford.

DR. C. P. SCOTT, whose name is so closely and honourably associated with the "Manchester Guardian," in taking part in the actual presentation, said that whilst conscious there were many present far better qualified to do justice to Professor Herford's great services alike to literature and to the University, there was one qualification not shared by all of them, in that although not a colleague he might be taken to represent, in some degree, the general public, who claim their share in this occasion.

"Nothing can be more untrue," said Dr. Scott, "than to suppose that what concerns the University does not also necessarily concern the city. The University belongs to the city, is part of it, and a very vital part. The University of Manchester is the oldest of the great municipal universities which have sprung up all over England and Wales on its model since the middle of the last century. It is the most famous and the most developed, and it was founded by a Manchester merchant. It contributes by its training to our prosperity, and by its achievements to our reputation. It prepares its students for the work of life, but, above and beyond that, it develops their intelligence and makes of them, in the full sense, educated men.

"It is to such tasks as these that Professor Herford has devoted his twenty years of brilliant and unstinted service. I will not now attempt to appraise his work in the region of scholarship and criticism. But I should be ungrateful indeed if I did not record my personal obligation to him, an obligation which is shared by all readers of the paper

to which he has so generously contributed, for the help which for many years he has given as a reviewer in the appreciation of our own literature and that of other countries. Surely no more delicate and discerning estimate of the literature of our time has appeared in the press than that which bore the familiar and honoured initials of 'C. H. H.'

"Nor has Professor Herford ever been of those to whom absorption in an exacting task has meant the narrowing of sympathy or the limitation of outlook on the world of men and of affairs. It is not merely that he is at home in the languages of half a dozen European countries (taking Russian and Norwegian easily in his stride), and has helped us by his books to enter into their literature; he has done more: he has helped us to enter into their life. For his sympathies are as wide as his knowledge, and it is part of his strength that he has never sought to divorce literature from life.

It is not always that the scholar and the man of letters retains in all its fullness and freshness his sympathy with the wrongs, the strivings, and the hopes of the great world in which he moves. But this is, and ever has been, true of Professor Herford. It is a splendid example, and it is for this no less than for his high distinction as scholar, critic, writer, and teacher that Manchester is proud to do him honour to-day.

PROFESSOR OLIVER ELTON said he had a special pleasure in taking part in this ceremony as being Professor Herford's predecessor, and also the witness, at Liverpool, of the fashion in which Professor Herford had developed and strengthened a great school of literary study. "Dr. Scott has spoken," continued Professor Elton, "with very great aptness and feeling of their friend's acquirements. There can be little to add, but I have had, as a fellow-student, the delight of following his writings, generally signed or initialled, but recognisable when they were not, in his journal, through many fields and countries of literature, and I can think of no one of a more generous outlook upon books or upon life; no one who was a better European in his knowledge and sympathies. He has done things of higher rank in fields extraordinarily different and opposite, not only in the discussion of Russian poets, for instance, or in his translations of Ibsen, but in Italian, Latin, and German. Italian scholars have come to me and said that Dr. Herford's article on the

most famous Italian of to-day, D'Annunzio, was one of the finest studies they had found, by anyone. Dr. Scott has spoken, and I am strongly in sympathy with his words, of Dr. Herford's generosity of range as a critic of others ; not only of great writers but of mere contemporary students. There has always been this about Professor Herford's criticisms : that instead of simply judging *ex cathedra* he has endeavoured, to his uttermost, to understand and appreciate whatever the writer was after, and it was only his critical sharpness and sagacity that has prevented him from accepting the word for the deed.

"I myself," said Professor Elton, "am hardly entitled to speak of the influence Professor Herford must have exercised on generations of students. I cannot but end by suggesting that, after all, it is a great thing for any city, old or new, academic or commercial, to be served by a man not only of these acquirements and performances, but of such large and ideal convictions, which he has upheld against odds and with great courage ; and a man who has neither stinted nor spared himself in his work as a professor or in his labours as a writer or critic."

PROFESSOR ALEXANDER said that he felt it a great privilege to take part in the proceedings, not merely because of his long intimacy with Professor Herford, but because he was one of the few left of "the old gang" of the academic staff who had been here all the time of Professor Herford's tenure of his office. So that he knew the regard and the affection with which he was regarded by the University staff. "We were proud of his distinction as a scholar and as a critic and a writer," remarked Professor Alexander, "and we knew also that he had a Continental reputation which few of the rest of us could claim to possess." Although many of them knew little of his graver writings, they had perpetual testimony in the columns of a paper not unknown to them of the illuminating way in which he could write upon literary subjects. "I think some of us grudged him even to the 'Manchester Guardian' at times." He was half-ashamed to say these things, but they had known also that Professor Herford had belonged to a group of English critics who had made themselves by their knowledge of international literature secure against the perpetual temptation of insularity, and they knew that he combined the literary gift, in the strange way which scholars like Professor Elton and others

managed it, with that honesty of reflection which, when it took a more crabbed form, people were in the habit of calling philosophy. Often when he had been talking to Professor Herford, or reading him, he had felt that if he had not been such a first-rate critic he could almost have wished that he had chosen to be a philosopher. He liked to think of Professor Herford as a friend to his immediate colleagues and to other members of the staff, and to his students. He liked to think of all the kindness they had received at Professor Herford's hands, and he liked to think, in particular, of the unfailing friendship and sympathy they had received from Mrs. Herford.

Another thing he would like to add. Professor Herford had never been ashamed to look like a professor. "I observe," Professor Alexander said, "with some regret, that the newer generation appear to lay themselves out to look as completely as possible like quite ordinary people, and it is, of course, the honester way. But the results of it are not picturesque."

Lastly, he would like to speak of their admiration of Professor Herford's civil creed. He had strong opinions about various subjects which not all shared, and he expressed himself strongly, and never shrank from expressing himself upon subjects which excited public interest. Professor Alexander said that for him, as treasurer of the committee, it had been an interesting experience to observe how widely felt Professor Herford's influence was upon many kinds of people, and in particular to observe the cordiality with which some of their Italian friends, and Professor Herford had expressed himself strongly upon the modern Italian Government, even while they repudiated his sentiments, joined in this testimonial. He could think of no finer testimony to his personality, and to the sincerity of public spirit from which people felt he always acted. It was with great pleasure that he joined with Dr. Scott and Professor Elton in offering this admirable portrait of an eminent scholar, a good friend, and a good citizen.

In accepting the portrait on behalf of the University, the EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES, the Chancellor, said he wished to offer a word of respectful congratulation to Mr. Dugdale. From time to time in the course of painting Mr. Dugdale must have found himself fixed by a most discerning and critical eye. In the configuration of the brow he must have seen the critic, and in the eye, the determination to spring which spoke of the man of action. In that portrait the

University had a just presentation of a friend and colleague. If he could do so without disrespect he would like to congratulate a man for whose portrait two or three hundred people had been proud to subscribe so that it might stay in the midst of a society in which he had spent long and honoured years. His subject at the University had been one of the most difficult subjects of the present, and perhaps the most difficult subject for an area like this to justify. But by his long and strenuous efforts, his distinction of mind, his skill of presentment and generosity of outlook he had invested this great subject with an importance which elsewhere, he feared, it did not always achieve.

Professor Herford had divided his allegiance between Lucretius, Dante, and Wordsworth, and how well he had illuminated each one of them ! But he had been no mere student of literature as such. "All his researches," Lord Crawford said, "have been coloured by his desire to lead learning forward to great ends and to constructive ideals. Let me, in conclusion, congratulate the University upon having enlisted such men as Herford. It is to our credit, and our good fortune, that we secure the willing service of men of great personality. To us personality is a greater asset than fame, and we have indeed been fortunate that in a short time it has been served by so many men of great and dominant personality." Professor Alexander need not fear that the University would fail to produce professors as picturesque as himself, and he hoped they would be just as good men in their service. He concluded by handing to Professor Herford a list of subscribers to the picture—"a charming piece of calligraphy by Miss Una Adamson."

PROFESSOR HERFORD, in reply, said that he had heard words from such good friends and men of such eminence as made their judgment valuable under any circumstances, and to receive from them such praise was overwhelming. He could not say that he did not accept it without throwing some slight or slur on those words. Yet everyone knew that it was not what others might see that was the whole truth about a man. We might not see ourselves as others saw us, but God did not always refuse us the gift of seeing ourselves in our inner consciousness. The kind of image which struck him as most apposite to his position was that of St. Sebastian, without his consolation of martyrdom ; the sort of situation in which one repeated with conviction that it really was more blessed to give than to receive.

He had sometimes thought that on these occasions there should be someone to take the part of devil's advocate, who might suggest in this case reasons why the University should harshly refuse to receive the portrait, or at least should put it in a dark corner where no one would see it. He thought perhaps that he had something in the nature of a devil's advocate in his artist, since of the art of painting it was part, at least, to put in the shadows if the artist wished to produce something at all recognisable. He could not help admiring the frugality and discretion of the portrait. "Mr. Dugdale declined to paint me in any robes," Professor Herford said, "but came to me on a June day and painted me in my habit as I was."

When he looked at those splendid walls he was forced to remember the long period in which he had witnessed the growth of this college. His memory went back almost for sixty years. The college was in its early stages very homely, like a house-coat not made for the wearer. It was only to the eye of imaginative persons that the splendour of the academic robes could be seen against the swarthy background, much as Mr. Dugdale had suggested them in his picture. There came a time when the college began to draw about it robes of academic greatness, efficiency, and proficiency; and this moment was in some sense the culminating moment of the career in which he had witnessed the career of the college. He was most grateful to those who would allow him still to watch, by this pictorial means, the course of the University from these or other walls. He was grateful that Mr. Dugdale had chosen to represent him not in those robes but with the splash of suggestive colour which suggested not so much what was but what might be, so that he might be thought of as one whose thoughts rested on the future rather than the present, the possible rather than the actual; however great memory might be, the thought that the future might be greater still.

The subject of the November lecture in the John Rylands Library Series was: "A Primitive Dyestuff," which was dealt with by Dr. Rendel Harris.

RENDEL
HARRIS ON
WOAD.

The dyestuff referred to was Woad, and it was interesting to learn that woad is still cultivated in this country, but by one solitary grower in Lincolnshire.

Not many years ago there were plenty of woad-men or wad-men, as they were called, working up and down the country. They were

a nomadic tribe living in huts which they abandoned when the crop or the soil was exhausted.

The syllable "wad" which is found in many place-names in combination with another such as "hurst" or "ham," bears witness to their ancient industry. According to the Ministry of Health's dictionary of occupational terms, the wadman takes part, to this day, in the process of indigo dyeing, which in parts of France and Germany has not yet superseded woad. From the same root also the founder of Wadham College probably derived his name, for the county of Somerset was one of the most important centres of the woad industry. The abbots of Glastonbury enjoyed substantial revenues from it ; and as *glastum* is the Latin for "woad" in Pliny it is plain what Glastonbury means, despite all allegations to the contrary ; while *vitrum*, which means "glass," is Cæsar's word for "woad." The Greeks, however, called the plant *isatis*, and *Isatis tinctoria* is the botanical name assigned to it by Linnæus. At this point it might be thought that philology had no more to say ; but Dr. Harris with his customary courage traces *isatis* to a still more primitive form, even to an Egyptian word, for blue and green, which transliterated in English becomes indistinguishable from "watchet," the name of a place in woad-making Somerset, and once a regular word for describing gowns and mantles of blue. What else, declared the lecturer, was the "Lincoln green" that clothed Robin Hood but the same blue treated with a lye, by a lyster, to make it green, probably in the very county where the last woad-grower still remains.

That there should be no mystery about the connection with Egypt, Dr. Harris suggests that Watchet, with its muddy little harbour that floats fairly big vessels at high-tide, was originally nothing less than an Egyptian settlement, such as he has traced elsewhere in Britain in the course of his studies of possible Egyptian influences in the Mediterranean countries and beyond, and that the famous dye or plant was brought to Britain by the Egyptians. Botanists deny that woad is indigenous in Britain : but it has grown here at least since Cæsar's time, and the old wadmen appear not to have looked for it in a wild state, but to have cultivated it for making their dye.

The lecture was illustrated by lantern pictures showing what a certain woad-mill now demolished, looked like. In the process of treatment the leaves were triturated into a fermenting paste by a rotary

horse-mill, such as can still be seen in the cider-growing districts, and then collected into balls for the market. If the balls, or lumps, were ever known as "wads," the etymology of "wad," which the dictionary says is obscure, becomes perhaps intelligible.

The lecture has been printed in pamphlet form, and is published by Messrs. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge.

Considerable interest has been manifested in Dr. Johnson's "Dictionary of the English Language," 1755, in consequence of the sale, on the 30th of November, at Messrs. Sotheby's rooms, of the sheets or, as the sale catalogue suggests, probably a collection of the final proofs submitted by the author of the first edition, with numerous unpublished corrections by the author and his amanuenses, which realised the enormous price of £3250, the purchasers being Messrs. Maggs, acting, we dare to hope, for some collector or institution in this country.

DR. JOHN-
SON'S DIC-
TIONARY.

The three volumes in which the sheets are bound, formed part of the Library of Colonel Ralph Sneyd, of Keele Hall, Newcastle, Staffs. They consist of the greater part, but not of the whole of the "Dictionary" as follows: A-Pumper, wanting Abide-Abolish, H-Hygroscope, Mactation-Mythology, Oary-Pack, from Pumper to the end, titles and all preliminary matter. Inserted opposite to the words to which they apply are about 1630 slips containing illustrative passages mostly copied by Johnson's amanuenses, but a few wholly or partly in his own hand. There are numerous corrections and additions in the margins, an appreciable number of which were written by Johnson himself, but few of them appear to have been incorporated in later editions.

An imperfect copy of the third edition, interleaved and similarly but not so fully annotated, is in the British Museum.

Johnson's own corrected copy of the "fourth edition revised by the author," 1773, is preserved in the John Rylands Library, and contains the following note in the handwriting of Dibdin:—

This Book containing some MS. Corrections in the Author's Hand-writing was left by him to Sir Joshua Reynolds, from whom it was inherited by his Niece, the Marchioness of Thomond, who gave it to George John Earl Spencer.

The library also possesses the first and second editions of the "Dictionary," and two variant editions (both issued in 1747) of

"The plan of a Dictionary . . . addressed to . . . the Earl of Chesterfield."

In turning over the pages of the Preface to the first edition of the "Dictionary" we were much struck by the following passage, which seemed worthy of recall to the minds of our readers :—

In this work, when it shall be found that much is omitted, let it not be forgotten that much likewise is performed; and though no book was ever spared out of tenderness to the author, and the world is little solicitous to know whence proceeded the faults of that which it condemns; yet it may gratify curiosity to inform it, that the English Dictionary was written with little assistance of the learned, and without any patronage of the great; not in the soft obscurities of retirement, or under the shelter of academick towers, but amidst inconvenience and distraction, in sickness and in sorrow: and it may repress the triumph of malignant criticism to observe that if our language is not here fully displayed, I have only failed in an attempt which no human powers have hitherto completed.

Many readers will remember that in the early part of 1922 Dr. Mingana, in the course of his examination of the collection of Arabic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, made the startling discovery of an unrecorded Apology for Islam, by a learned Muhammadan physician and moralist named 'Ali b. Rabban at-Ṭabari, which had been written at Baghdad at the request of the Caliph al Mutta-wakkil, between the years A.D. 847 and 861.

THE FIRST
APOLOGY
FOR
CHRISTIAN-
ITY AS
AGAINST
ISLAM.

The manuscript which is of modest appearance and dimensions had for many years reposed in the collection of the Earl of Crawford before it came into the possession of this library, but its identity and the outstanding importance of its contents had never been suspected, until Dr. Mingana in making a thorough examination of it realised for the first time the importance of the document, not only to the Muslim, but also to every Oriental scholar and student of comparative religion.

An Apology for the Christian Faith, written by Al-Kindi, between the years A.D. 813 and 833, was known, and had long since been made accessible to students, but no similar defence of Islam of such outstanding importance as that of Ali Ṭabari had been known to exist.

In view of the importance of the discovery, Dr. Mingana, at the request of the Governors, prepared for the press an edition of the Arabic text and of an English translation, which were duly published

in the early part of 1923 under the title : "The Book of Religion and Empire," with the result that the publication aroused the greatest possible interest throughout the Muslim world, an interest which has not since abated.

Now, another discovery, equally as startling in character, has been made by Dr. Mingana in a manuscript recently found by him in Kurdistan. On this occasion it is an official apology or defence of Christianity by the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I, who was recognised as the head of all Eastern Christians. The apology takes the form of a theological discussion between the Caliph Mahdi himself and the Patriarch, which extended over two days at the court of the Caliph, the third of the Abbassid Caliphs, at Baghdad, in the year A.D. 781 or 782. This apology therefore antedates that of Al-Kindi by about forty years.

As a piece of apologetic writing the new apology will take rank as one of the finest of its kind. For the thought of early Muslims and for the criticism of the text of the *Ku'rān*, some verses of which the writer quotes and some hitherto obscure features of which he defines, the importance of the work cannot well be overestimated.

Not the least noteworthy of its features is the cordiality and friendliness of the spirit with which the controversy was conducted by the head of the Christians on the one side and the head of the Muslims on the other. These two antagonists were keen to appreciate one another's arguments, and yet the language of conciliation is carried so far as to startle a modern Christian reader, and it is doubtful, as Dr. Harris remarks in his introduction, whether it would be possible to find a more temperate and judicial use of controversial methods than are disclosed in the present documents.

The document is published in the present issue in facsimile, and is accompanied by an English translation and critical apparatus by Dr. Mingana, with an introduction by Dr. Rendel Harris. It forms the third section of the "Woodbrooke Studies," of which the first two instalments appeared in these pages last year.

We have pleasure in printing the following communication from Dr. W. J. Rutherford :—

The argument by which Dr. Rendel Harris established the existence of Hittite colonies throughout Palestine, Libya, and Crete

appears to be capable of further extension, though one may suggest that he would grant that the rule *che va piano va sano* must be applied even to geographical researches of this sort. I will, then, only venture one modest addition to his rapidly accumulating series of identifications.

THE HITTITES IN
LACONIA.

Perhaps the most striking of his results refer to the eastern end of the island of Crete and the not very remote island of Karpathos : as regards Crete there is a concurrence of ancient and of modern geographers in finding a series of place-names suggestive of such Hittite cultural contact or migration. Reference to the map of Crete in the *Geographi Græci Minores* shows such names as 'Eteia (modern Sitia), Itavos (Modern Sitanos), a promontory called *Eteia (with modern equivalent Cetia) and a cape Sitia. These names evidently belong to a common type, and their particular forms show that Dr. Harris need not have shown hesitation in admitting similar ones in the Gulf of Lyons.

The suggestion is that there is not only the Hittite place-name *Heteia* in the East of Crete, but that another similarly named locality may be found on the European mainland itself, in Laconia ; with the further suggestion that what holds good for the one is probably the case with regard to the latter also.

The following titles represent a selection of the works which have been added to the shelves of the library since the publication of our last issue. They serve to indicate the character of the additions which are constantly being made.

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THE COUNTRY HAUNTS OF HORACE.

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IN a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 12th January, 1927, I had the pleasure of submitting to a Manchester audience the new and interesting evidence collected by Mr. G. H. Hallam of Sant' Antonio, Tivoli, about the probable site of the resort which Horace must¹ have had on the outskirts of that uplifted town, the ancient Tibur, during the later years of his life; and further a series of photographs which Mr. Hallam had collected, many of them taken by himself, of the site which has been identified in recent years as that of the Sabine Farm of which Horace tells us so much in all but his earliest and latest writings.

The evidence for connecting Horace with the site at Sant' Antonio, which was afterwards covered at a higher level by a Franciscan monastery built in 1583, has been published in an interesting and convincing joint article by Mr. G. H. Hallam and Dr. Thomas Ashby on 'Horace's Villa at Tivoli' (in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. IV., 1914, p. 121) where the reader will find not merely careful architectural drawings but some beautiful photographic plates which are among the sources from which were taken the views

¹ This statement is based not merely on the six or seven Odes that refer to Tibur but on his statement in Epistles I., 8, 12, "When I am at Rome I long to be at Tibur, and when I am at Tibur I long to be in Rome." This little piece of self-reproach would be meaningless unless Horace had a regular pied à terre at Tibur which he could exchange at will for his rooms at Rome. Nor can I assent to the view of Gaston Boissier* that Horace would use the name Tibur to include a farm in very different surroundings some 15 miles (24 kilom.) away, even by the modern road—and very long, climbing miles too.

* *Nouvelles Prom. Archéol.*, p. 40.

shown at my lecture. Many of these slides, with others illustrating the Sabine Farm, have been presented by Mr. Hallam to the Society¹ for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

One of the objects of the lecture was to make known this addition to the resources of Classical teaching in order that anyone who is engaged in reading Horace with a class may know where to find these delightful illustrations.

With regard to the site at Tivoli it would be inappropriate to occupy the pages of the BULLETIN by repeating information readily accessible in the *Journal of Roman Studies*. But I may be allowed in passing to record the impression on my mind made by the delightful twenty-four hours which I spent in March, 1926, on the site, in Mr. Hallam's hospitable company. I do so with all the more pleasure because, though I am far from doubting the cogency of the considerations which convinced such an authority as Dr. Thomas Ashby,² I am too ignorant of the whole subject of Roman Building to do more than gratefully accept his statement. The arguments that appeal to me strongly in favour of Mr. Hallam's theory are precisely those in which Mr. Hallam himself is most interested, namely, the remarkable appositeness of the descriptions which Horace applies to Tibur if we suppose that he was writing on the site of Sant' Antonio. From the hill-side where the Abbey stood you look across the deep-cut valley of the Anio, which makes nearly a horse-shoe bend round the town; S. Antonio is not far from the top of the curve (perhaps 600 yards), on the northern arm from which the river enters the plain. In parts the valley narrows into a ravine; and the greater part of its space is continually filled with spray, driven by wind down or across it, from the great cataract of 365 feet which the river makes when it plunges to the bottom of the valley. This it now does from a tunnel cut under the Monte Catillo, about as far from the top of the horse shoe along

¹ From whom they can be borrowed by responsible persons for use at a lecture. Mr. Hallam has greatly enhanced their value by putting together a small book entitled 'Horace at Tibur and the Sabine Farm' which can be obtained from the Harrow School Book-shop, Harrow, where Mr. Hallam was for many years senior Classical master, numbering among his pupils Mr. Stanley Baldwin. Application for the use of the slides should be made to the Secretary of the Society at 50 Bedford Square, W.C. 1.

² Dr. Ashby writes (*l.c.*, p. 131): "The remains incorporated in the buildings of the monastery of Sant' Antonio, or existing in the garden below it, all belong to the Augustan period at the latest."

the southern arm as S. Antonio is along the northern. In Horace's time the river had just the same height to fall and just as much water ; but it made its plunge into the western end of the Southern arm of the horseshoe, much nearer the little town, which stands on a projecting hill almost completely encircled by the horseshoe into which it forces the river.

To anyone who has enjoyed this view, through the trees, from the terrace on or above which Sant' Antonio stands, it is obvious why Horace speaks more than once of 'moist Tibur' (*uvidum*) and why he says that the waters 'run in front of it' (*præfluunt*). As Mr. Hallam justly points out, it is the only point of view from which the description is natural. Again the epithet 'empty' (*vacuum*) which might seem strange applied to a city so "crowded with culture," as Browning would have called it, on the top of its own hill, becomes intelligible when one thinks of the open grassy slopes that rise and spread far into the mountains behind Sant' Antonio, or of the narrow but high-lying woodland valley that runs in from the north. In this retreat Horace was more than a mile away, with probably nothing better than a mule track between, from the bustle of the fashionable watering place itself. And again seen from Sant' Antonio, Tivoli really does 'lean backward' (*supinum*) as Horace declares ; because the slope by which the hill rises to the citadel of the town from the curving bank of the river is quite gradual for the quarter mile or so that immediately faces the north-eastern bank, whereas above and below this part of the stream the descent into the valley from the town is quite precipitous ; see for instance the picture of the Sibyl's Temple, which towers above the gorge. No doubt it was either this precipitous aspect, or even more probably that of the whole town, as seen from the west, springing out of the plain of the Campagna to a height of more than 800 feet, which Vergil had in mind when he described it as "lordly" or "overbearing" (*superbum*) which considered merely on paper is in strange contradiction to Horace's epithet. Above all the word 're-echoing,' applied to the whole cavity of the valley (*domus Albunæ resonantis*), gains a new and delightful meaning which no one will ever forget who has spent a night at Sant' Antonio. Like the stream at Cauteretz which Tennyson heard

"All adown the valley, stream that flashest white,
Deepening thy voice with the deepening of the night,"

the Anio has a marvellous quality of sound when humanity has time to listen. Should anyone wake in the small hours of the morning, as he lies at Sant' Antonio on a level with the summit of the falls, half a mile away, he will hear distinctly, amid the continuous roaring of the waters, throbbing and pulsating through the darkness, the sound of clear-toned bells, most musical. Visitors to the house often ask why the monks should disturb the peace of the night by ringing bells at so strange an hour. But these are no ordinary bells set in motion by monkish hands. What the cause of the phenomenon may be, no one has been able to say. Possibly the clashing of the waters sets up sound-waves which are only audible in the quiet of the midnight; or the sounds may be due to some variation of temperature in the limestone and be comparable to those which are said to proceed at day-break from the statue of Memnon in Egypt. The music of the bells at Tivoli, as far as the experience of the present writer goes, is only heard at night. I heard these magic bells myself quite clearly when I was awake between two and three a.m. in the night I spent as Mr. Hallam's guest in the house which has taken the place of the monastery. I understand that my late friend Canon Cruickshank mentioned to Mr. Hallam that a similar sound can be heard in the wooded ravine to the west of the Cathedral at Durham when the river is in spate as it falls over the weir far down below.¹

These considerations may appeal differently to different minds; and of course they do not amount to mathematical proof. But I suspect that those who know and love Horace best will feel with me not merely keen gratitude to Mr. Hallam for having added to the pleasure with which in future they will read these Odes, but also a conviction that Horace must have often stayed on that hillside.

Passing from the Tivoli site, we come to ground whose firmness is beyond all doubt in looking for a site for Horace's Farm somewhere high up in the valley of the Digentia, above both Vico Varo where it runs into the Anio and Mandela which Horace mentions as drinking his "*gelidus Digentia rivus*." Whether more than one site could be

¹ In passing I may be allowed to remark that the use of the word *domus* to denote such a valley throws a welcome light, as Dr. Warde Fowler saw, on the meaning of the difficult line describing the basin of the Tiber (*Aeneid*, viii. 65).

found¹ I do not know ; but I am quite sure that it would be very difficult, indeed I venture to say impossible, to find one which would fit in more exactly with all the abundant details which Horace gives us in many different places.

We have just noticed five passages from the six or seven Odes in which Horace mentions Tibur. But to his Sabine Farm and the Fountain of Bandusia and to Mt. Lucretilis there are at least thirteen quite certain allusions and five or six others that are probably so to be interpreted, scattered over all the works he wrote after the time when he first came into possession of the farm in 33 or 32 B.C. (*Satires* II., 6. 1-5, 60-78), with the exception of the Fourth Book of the Odes, in which it is not easy to find any definite reference to the Sabine Farm ; unless (as I should like to think) that was where Phyllis was invited to celebrate the birthday of Maecenas (Ode XI. of that Book).

The long description given us in *Epistles* XIV. and XVI. of the First Book tells us very fully what Horace's Sabine home was like. Here again I need not reproduce what has already been written with lucidity and charm by Mr. Hallam. I must be content to trace the main features that Horace gives us in the two *Epistles*, emphasising one or two points which even yet, perhaps, have not been fully considered. And I have the further satisfaction of giving the readers of the *BULLETIN* a few photographs, not included in Mr. Hallam's collection of slides, which he kindly gave me at my request ; indeed I think he took one or two on purpose. Here again we have to start from the welcome testimony of the archæologists, that the remains found on the site which the photographs illustrate are certainly of the Augustan period ; the chief evidence of this they find in the walls of *opus reticulatum*² which they tell us was only in use from about 50 B.C. to about 50 A.D., and in the character of the mosaics (Fig. 2) still *in situ* in some of the rooms. These remains of the

¹ The only other site that has been suggested is Capo le Volte which is high up in a bleak side valley, $1\frac{1}{2}$ kilom. behind, i.e. west, of Rocca Giovane ; the nearest water is 1 kilom. distant, and some 370 feet lower down—facts which alone are decisive against the suggestion.

² This name, derived from the net-like appearance of the wall, is used to describe the style in which square bricks are laid with their diagonals in a vertical position, so that each brick rests, as it were, between the arms or shoulders of its two neighbours in the row below it.



FIG. 1.—REMAINS OF THE SAMNE FARM WITH THE NIGHTINGALES' WOOD
ON ITS EAST SIDE

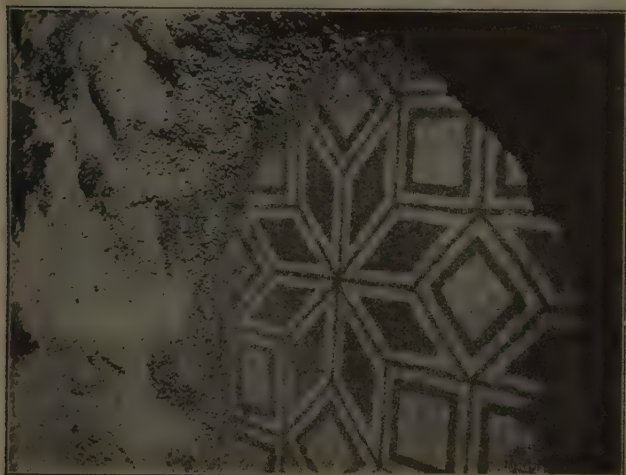


FIG. 2.—THE MOSAIC IN THE DINING-ROOM.

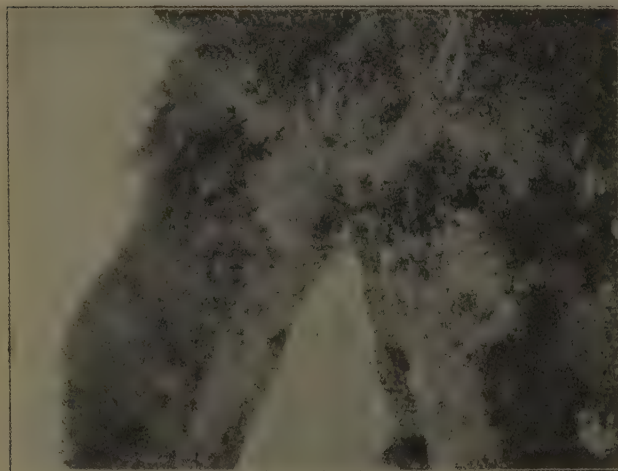


FIG. 3.—FOCCA GIOVANI (FANUM PUTRE VAGINAE)

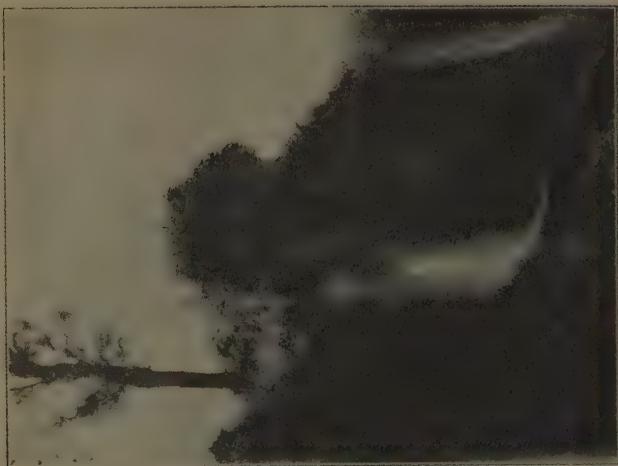


FIG. 4.—THE FALL OF THE STREAM NEAR THE FARM

villa they therefore assign confidently to the end of the Republican period. But on the west side of these, there are also indications of baths, built at a later date, about the time of Vespasian. The site lies on a shoulder of Monte Gennaro, high above, and a quarter of a mile away from, the west bank of the Digentia, just where the stream is joined by a smaller brook coming down from the west, behind, i.e. to the North of, Monte Gennaro; so that this side valley, down behind the farm, provides excellent shade from mid-day onwards. The farm itself is separated on the east from the main Digentia valley by a small hillock covered with chestnut-trees. The summit of this hillock rises some 20 or 30 feet above the ground floor of the farm (Fig. 1), which is therefore screened on the east from the main course of traffic up and down the valley without being shut in; and the shoulder which it occupies slopes down gently towards the south. It is sheltered from the east wind by the trees of the hillock, from the west by the slope of Monte Gennaro which lifts two beautiful rocky peaks some 2000 feet above; and from the north by the mass of the Sabine hills (Fig. 5) which rise steeply and bleakly behind the branch valley. One of the rivulets running into this branch leaps over or through a rock about 100 ft. higher than the farm some 200 yards to the N.W. (Fig. 4); and if the identification of the site be accepted, no reader of Horace need wish to deny to this fountain, with its pretty fall of 13 to 15 ft. from the cleft of the rocks, one of which is crowned by a tree, the name of Bandusia.¹ About a mile or so further down the Digentia valley, the mountain wall on the west is broken, or nicked, high up, by a small gap in which lies the village of Rocca Giovane (Fig. 3) occupying the site of the ancient temple of Vacuna. This can be reached from the farm by a path along the

¹ Mr. Hallam prefers to attach the name Bandusia to the main source of the stream that runs down the valley behind the farm, the Fonte delle Chiuse. He tells me that this cascade answers more closely in its details to the description in the Ode, especially in the character of the trees growing above the rock which are still holm-oaks (*ilices*), and in its accessibility to the strolling flock (*pecori vago*) who would not be so welcome or so free within two hundred yards of the farm as they would a mile or so away up the valley. I have not yet seen this cascade and Mr. Hallam has hitherto been unable to secure a photo of it for me, so that I can only trust to his judgement in the matter. In any case there is no doubt that the waterfall which Fig. 4 represents is the *purae rivus aquae* that Horace extols in *Satires* II., 6, and *Epistles* I., 16.

grassy and rocky hill-side. It is pleasant to think of Horace, perched high up beside this temple, a ruin even in his days, with the whole Digentia and a great deal of the main Anio valley spread out before him, writing the Tenth Epistle of his First Book to Fuscus Aristius, telling him that his absence is the only thing that spoils the poet's perfect happiness.

Horace mentions his possession of his Sabine retreat for the first time in the Sixth Satire of the Second Book. "This is what I prayed for ; a measure of land not very large, with a pretty garden and a spring of pure water hard by the house and a little bit of woodland too. But the gods have given me something richer and better. It is good. I pray for no more than to be allowed to keep it." In the same Satire he describes his migration there as "escaping out of Rome into the mountains and my own citadel" ; and in the later part of the Satire he describes his simple life free from all the burdensome fashions of the city ; "nights and suppers fit for the gods" he calls them, in which, after a meal in which his slaves take part, he has some friend to talk with on quite serious subjects, interrupted occasionally by a neighbour who tells them a pretty fable of the country-side in the manner of Æsop. Twelve years or more later on he sets out to describe the same farm to another friend, Quinctius. "If you found," says he, "a line of mountains unbroken save for a gap, thro' which a well-wooded valley runs north and south, you would call it an excellent situation. Even the trees and bushes of the hill-side are kind enough to bear cornel-berries and plums ; and both oak and holm-oak are there to shade me and feed my pigs with acorns ; and the slope is so warm that you would think you were in the woods at Tarentum. There is a spring that deserves a name of its own, as cold and as pure as some long winding river of Thrace ; with water excellent for a tired head or an uneasy stomach. It is a charming retreat, lovely, I shall call it, if you will take my judgement, and it keeps me well all through the burning days of September." Notice the word 'lovely' (*amoenus*, the prettiest epithet in Latin) that Horace applies no less than five times to the scenery around the farm, here, as you see, with a little apology. No doubt the comparative treelessness of the higher parts of the mountains round about and the many rocks which break the grass, and occasional stony scree which take the place of grass in some parts of the lower slopes, presented

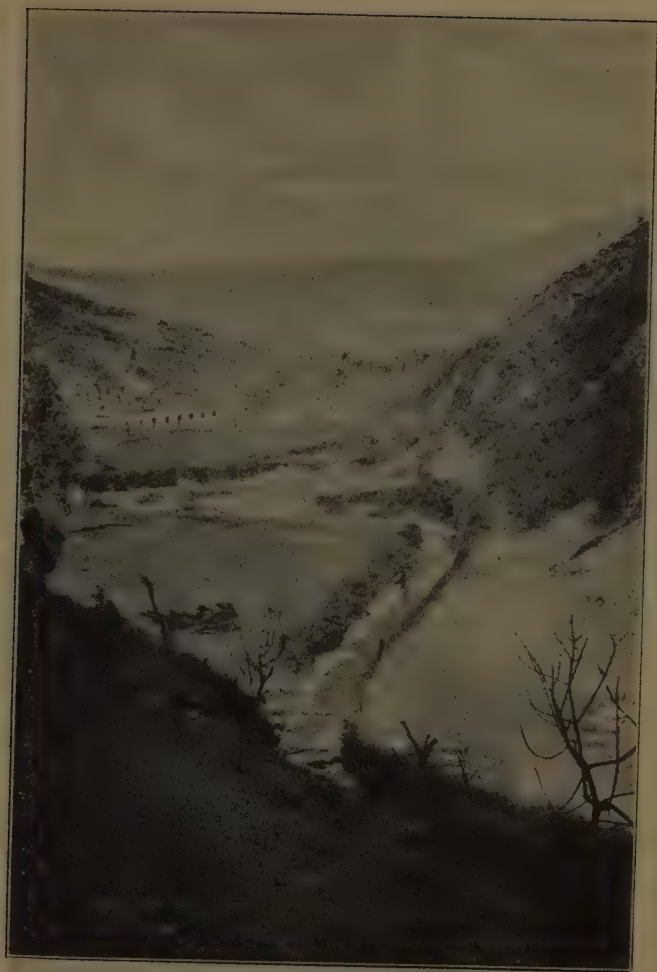


FIG. 5.—THE UPPER DIGENTIA VALLEY NORTH OF THE FARM

less attraction to a Roman eye than they do to ours—in these things Horace has what I must call a very English sort of taste ; but in any case, to Monte Gennaro, the ancient Lucretilis, no traveller of our own day, if indeed, of any day, could possibly deny the epithet. The colour and shape of its purple rocky peaks and grassy sides and the towering majesty with which it rises above the farm, its broad silvery slope glowing in the morning sunshine and spreading for miles down the valley, are all as lovely as any mountain in the world can be. Of the streamlet just mentioned, putting aside the Thirteenth Ode of Book III. which Horace devoted to *Bandusia* and which I will quote later on, Horace tells us that it was rather a naughty stream, which took a great deal of “teaching” to keep within its own channel without overflowing the sunny pasture (*multa mole docendus aperto parcere prato*). That description exactly applies to the rivulet as it is even to-day. When it has once fallen through and over the rocky cleft, it might choose almost any path across the evenly-spread shoulder of meadow land behind and above the farm below ; and the channel which has been dug for it now, as in Horace’s time, is clearly not quite big enough when the water is in spate. Vines are still grown, as Horace implies on the western slopes above the house ; but probably none would grow on the slope looking to the north behind, where one might conjecture was the ‘corner’ assigned to Horace’s bailiff¹ which would “as soon bear frankincense as grapes.”

Further up the main Digentia valley rise the tall Sabine mountains with the village of Licenza upon a spur to the east, the whole prospect translating in the most solid way Horace’s phrase ‘the steep Sabine hills.’ Down the valley, sleeping in the sun, stretches the course of the Digentia and the Anio, so shut in at one point, some ten miles off, that it is hard to see the gap through which it reaches Tibur and the sea. One cannot wonder that in one of his Odes (III., 29. 6) Horace

¹ Epis. I., 14. 22. This is certainly the meaning of *angulus iste* “your corner.” It cannot possibly mean ‘my’ corner as some translators have strangely supposed, misled, no doubt, by Horace’s use of *ille angulus* to refer to a favourite ‘corner’ of Italy in Ode VI. of Book II., where the reference is certainly to Tarentum, not Tibur, and quite certainly not to the Digentia valley. This Epistle is written from Rome, it is true ; so that *iste* might mean ‘the corner where you are now.’ But the ten lines (21-30) are wholly concerned with the bailiff’s point of view and in them *iste* must mean ‘that of yours.’

expresses a distinct preference for this region as against that of "moist Tibur" bidding Maecenas come and stay with him and not remain in his richly-furnished villa at Tibur but to enjoy a quietly and cleanly served dinner under a poor man's humble roof (*mundaeque parvo sub lare pauperum cenae sine aulaeis et ostro*).

Let me end these notes by quoting the famous Ode to Bandusia in a rendering by Mr. Geoffrey S. Conway, M.C., B.A.

HORACE, ODES III., 13.

O maiden spring, flashing thy crystal light,
 Bandusia, sweet wine shall grace thee,
 Decked with fair flowers' delight,
 Nought can surpass thee.
 And in thy honour ere to-morrow night
 A young goat slain—his front a budding store
 Of love and prowess, firstling pride—
 Shall mix with thy cool fountain
 His life-blood. Play no more,
 No more, poor woolly wanton !
 Thy loveliness, mocking the Dog-star's threat
 To ox and ass cool freedom granteth.
 Here flocking, thy retreat
 All the vale haunteth.
 Thy grace amidst the praise shall now be set
 Of far-famed fountains : storied through the days
 The oak, whose roots do bower and fret
 The hollows, laughter-laden,
 Whence o'er the rocky ways
 Leap down thy springs, fair maiden.

WILLIAM BLAKE.¹

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"**I** FEAR there is no doubt the poor man is mad," wrote Wordsworth once; "but his madness interests me more than the sanity of Lord Byron and Walter Scott." We put the matter differently now, but that confession of the greater poet, whose kingdom the Blakian universe at some points dazzlingly affirms and completes, at others fiercely rends and repudiates, still remains an apt expression for the appeal, at once fascinating and challenging, which Blake makes to the modern mind.

When he died in July, 1827, in an obscure court off the Strand, no one dreamed that "the poor man" in whom Wordsworth confessed his interest would become the object of a reverent homage which, after a century, is still growing; or that the charge of madness would be with increasing emphasis dismissed. He lived among second-rate artists and third-rate poets; to the few contemporaries of kindred and comparative genius he was almost wholly unknown. One or two of his poems caught the ear of Coleridge; Lamb went about reciting (and misquoting) the great anvil-music of the *Tiger*. The cultivated and highly respectable clubman Crabb Robinson, friend of Goethe and Rogers, listened with bewilderment to Blake's anarchic paradoxes, and his record of their talk is a feast for the Comic Spirit. As for the mass of the "Prophetic Books," they remained utterly unregarded save for their fine prints. More than a generation had passed since his death when Swinburne, one of the first to proclaim Blake's greatness in lyric, made, in 1868, a serious but ineffectual attempt to penetrate the forbidding jungle. After almost another generation Mr. W. B.

¹ An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 26 October, 1927, and subsequently printed in the *Hibbert Journal* for October, 1927.

Yeats, Blake's nearest of kin among all later poets, followed, in 1893, and his interpretation, more dubiously elaborated by his colleague Edwin Ellis, compelled the recognition of real if shadowy meaning, as well as of singular imaginative grandeur, in these enigmatic histories. Later still, a band of determined students—in particular Sampson (1905), Sloss, and Wallis—in Liverpool, where Blake has been something of a local cult, applied to these riddles the resources and the scruples of modern scholarship. In 1924, Mr. Foster Damon, after ten years of concentrated labour, evolved from the Prophetic Books a connected metaphysic, where the *Jerusalem*, the most voluminous, and abstruse of them, figures as the Ninth Symphony of a Beethoven of whose deeper music the world was not so much inappreciative as completely unaware. Finally, we have the very able *Life* of Miss Mona Wilson and the critical Text of Mr. Geoffrey Keynes.

I.

One result emerges clearly from the research and discussion of two generations. The man who uttered himself, now in abstruse mythic symbols, now in ravishing song, now in painted or engraved figures of Michelangesque grandeur, had a soul elemental, simple and profound. His poetry, his art, his talk, his behaviour obeyed an inner implicit logic of his own, often enough flagrantly at odds with the logic of common sense. He had the inconsistencies, the incoherence which astute and versatile men avoid, but which are the penalty of elemental natures thrown into a complex and unsympathetic *milieu*. He could be grotesque and sublime, delicately sensitive and outrageously indecent. The *Songs of Innocence*, with their fairy-bell rhymes about lambs and linnets, and little boys lost and found, are as intimately Blakian as his grandiose visions of Job and Jehovah, or his defiant declaration that "to generalise is to be an idiot." The poetry is indeed of finer, more enduring texture than the thought. To turn to it from the thought is often like hearing, after "three sounds," something which is "not a fourth sound, but a star." But the "star" would not have appeared had not the three sounds gone before, and the pellucid beauty of Blake's rarest music presupposes, however little it betrays, the mind of a thinker absorbed in his interpretation of the universe.

We can, it is true, distinguish phases in Blake's mental as in his personal history. But they are changes in temper and outlook, not in

the fundamental postulates of his thought. Putting aside his earliest volume, the *Poetical Sketches* of 1783, where the untaught engraver's apprentice completely ignores the literary authorities and fashions of his day, but rarely, as in the wonderful *Mad Song*, finds his authentic voice, we reach, six years later, the completely authentic *Songs of Innocence*. In that sordid and sophisticated eighteenth-century London he saw visions of elemental simplicity and loveliness, less subtly shot with pathos and humour than the London of Elia, but even more spontaneous and unexpected. The "innocence" is, in a profound sense, Blake's own. The Blakian Child is not, any more than its companion the Blakian Lamb, drawn literally from Nature—a region of experience which he scornfully consigned to the "atheist" Wordsworth. It is steeped in the white, joyous light of an intuition of blessed and sheltered existence, exempt from foreboding and presage, as the Wordsworthian child wears the brooding solemnity of the immortality it is supposed to intimate. Blake's children are not "haunted for ever by the Eternal Mind," but God, "all in white," is at hand to lead them home when they go astray. If, even in this world of innocence, little boys are sold by their father as chimney-sweeps, God sends them happy dreams, and they rise to go to work warm and glad; if an emmet loses her way among the "tangled sprays," a glow-worm, "watchman of the night," is there to light the ground.

These passing sorrows of Innocence did not as yet impair for Blake the "Divine Image" of Mercy and Love. Blake always saw God in human form, and he can here, without an effort, carry out this instinctive anthropomorphism; for man, merciful and forgiving, is already one with God :

"For Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love
Is God our Father dear,
And Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love
Is Man his child and care.
Where Mercy, Love and Pity dwell,
There God is dwelling too."

But there are signs enough in the *Songs of Innocence* that Blake's mind, though as yet untroubled by forebodings, was teeming with thoughts not to be expressed in these child-like songs. Nature was alive to him; years before Wordsworth he heard all things speaking,

and he began to record their speech with the assurance of an imagination which saw everywhere Life, at once human and divine, in the figures it seemed to invent. The *Book of Thel*, produced in the same year (1789), peoples the child's world of the *Songs of Innocence* with gentle shapes which interpret the same gospel of lowliness and self-sacrifice. It is Blake's "Treasure of the Humble." There is as little hint of conflict as in the songs, only a despondency swiftly overcome, like the forlornness of the Emmet and the little Lost Boy. The despondency is now, however, uttered in a long, plaintive chant—the "gentle lamentation" of the maiden Thel, youngest daughter of the Seraphim, as she watches the fading of all things, the beauty of the morning, and of the "children of the spring, born but to smile and fall!" But the lowly things have a higher wisdom; and the lily of the valley, "breathing in the humble grass," only to be cropped by the innocent lamb, the cloud melting away in the sunshine, the trodden worm and clod of earth, show her how by their willing self-surrender they are ministering to the one pervading life.

II.

An optimism thus precariously won was not likely to be securely possessed by a mind so sensitive, so vehement, and so imperfectly organised as Blake's. The visionary idealism which dissolves the disorders of the world in innocence and loveliness was not with him, as with Emerson, a fundamental instinct impervious to the blackest experience. It was rather a brief idyllic moment in the career of an imagination which projected itself with fierce intensity into whatever it apprehended, and fed as congenially on visions of dark and terrific power as on those of benign and miraculous goodwill. And Blake was writing on the eve of an actual convulsion which would have dispelled the idyllic mood from a mind far more naturally equable and balanced than his. His world of innocence crashed with the crash of the Bastille. That gentle vision of authority befriending and helpful, of kindly old men shepherding children on Holy Thursday in St. Paul's, became meaningless in the presence of the unmasked and now tottering despotism of the old *régime*. To the titanic uprising of the French people Blake responded with all the passionate energy of his nature. The

ecstatic singer of self-effacement, of lilies willingly cropped and worms adoringly cut in two, might have been expected to recommend a like self-effacement to the rebels of Paris. But Blake was only superficially inconsistent. The self-effacement of the cloud and the clod was not a negation of being, but the source of a new and fuller life. He was discovering the inner core of his own thought. The Love and Mercy and Humility and Pity, which realised God in man, were for him, not abstract virtues, but forms of spiritual energy; and he swept on without a thought of incoherence from the energy which effaces self to the energy which asserts it, from the love which surrenders and adores to the love which conquers and enjoys. Blake would probably have been an ardent partisan of the Revolution had he stood alone. His revolutionary fervour lost nothing in intensity, and it gained in definiteness, by his early association with the group of English revolutionists who gathered about William Godwin and Thomas Paine. Godwin—of whose faded shadow thirty years later Shelley could still say, "Greater none than he"—was temperamentally the anti-type of Blake. His conception of man as a being guided by reason, who would infallibly act aright if laws and Governments did not thwart and cramp him, stood in flagrant contrast with Blake's repudiation of reason itself in the name of unfettered desire. But in their denunciation of government and law the "sublime-grotesque" paradoxes of the intellectual and of the visionary anarchist marched together. And it was doubtless the influence of Paine, who had fought with the Americans in their struggle, that wakened Blake tardily to the significance of their revolution. The newly discovered piece on the French Revolution (1791) is less expressive of the transformation wrought by these events in his mental world than the lurid phantasmal poem *America*, produced two years later. Here the mysterious powers of the universe take part in the conflict of nations, and political and ethical anarchism reinforce one another. Urizen, the Satan of Blake's universe, is at once the author of the ten "stony" commandments which block the free energy of man, and the god of Albion's despotic rule. Across the Atlantic, Albion's Angel is confronted by the Dæmon of Emancipation, Orc, who answers his challenge in accents which foretell the unborn Whitman, and certainly helped to shape both the music and the meaning of the later prophet.

“I am Orc . . .

The fiery joy, that Urizen perverted to ten commands
 What night he led the starry hosts thro' the wide wilderness;
 That stony law I stamp to dust; and scatter religion abroad
 To the four winds as a torn book, and none shall gather the leaves;
 But they shall rot on desert sands, and consume in bottomless deeps.”

Then the “Thirteen Angels”—the governors of the thirteen Colonies—crouch howling before their caverns, and terror paralyses all the labour and craft of men; for on the shores, with their foreheads reared towards the east, stand the awful figures of Washington and Paine and Warren, and in their flowing robes children take shelter from the lightnings—a moving indication that the Blake of Little Lost Boys and Girls was himself lodged somewhere securely within the Blake of thunder-blasts and revolution.

But for an explicit exposition of the metaphysic and ethic here darkly shadowed we must turn to the famous *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, usually dated 1790, but suspected by Mr. Damon to belong to the confirmed and confident revolutionary temper of 1793.

The great word of the gospel now proclaimed is “Energy,” and a new revolutionary theology is built, at a stroke, upon the basis. God and Devil, Good and Evil, change places; Heaven and Hell are “married,” but it is a marriage of opposite and eternally hostile, if eternally necessary, Powers. For human life is a ceaseless struggle of Energy with the fetters of Law, of boundless imagination with the prison of the senses. The strong man breaks these fetters, the weak man surrenders and succumbs, and “humility” is now Blake’s name for the sly submissiveness of the hypocrite. His scorn for reason and for law is not mere impatience of restraint; it rests upon a bold and original metaphysic which resolves all life into energy, and all being into the oneness of God and man, and of both with the “Poetic genius.” Matter is an allusion, the body is a portion of soul perceived through the senses, and, as there is no external source of knowledge, all knowledge comes by intuition to the seeing soul, and all the codes of morality and law which claim to provide it are necessarily futile. The book which propounds these and similar paradoxes in a dozen pages of unflagging verve stands alone in the series of Prophetic Books, which, apart from *Thel* and *Thuriel*, it virtually opens. The framework of doctrine is already here, but it is not yet enveloped in the vast

mystic apparatus of contending demonic powers ; and the vaguely rhythmical Ossianic chant, which will later narrate the fortunes of the conflict, is here represented by the crisp vernacular prose of epigram and anecdote. "The Prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel dined with me," remarks Blake casually ; and after dinner he put some home questions, which they answered without hesitation and entirely to Blake's mind. Isaiah proves to be as absolute an intuitionist as Blake himself. "I saw no God, nor heard any," he replies, ". . . but my senses discovered the infinite in everything, and as I was then persuaded, and remain confirmed, that the voice of honest indignation is the voice of God, I cared not for consequences, but wrote." Another, longer, anecdote describes how he and an Angel journeyed through earth and space to see their "eternal lots," each "lot" being desperate in the eyes of the other. It is a truly Blakian journey, homely, grotesque, sublime by turns, now recalling Bunyan, now Swift, now Dante, but probably owing nothing to any of them. But the core of the book is to be found in the series of pregnant sayings which, under the name of "Proverbs of Hell," crystallise the new wisdom and the new morality. Some of them reach through paradox to enduring truth, and others have a strange beauty. It would be hard to contrast the virtues of saving and giving away more pithily than in Blake's "The cistern contains, the fountain overflows," or to justify original power more finely than in his "No bird soars too high, if he soars with his own weight." And was there not something of the soul of Hamlet in the Blakian "devil" who, hovering over the abyss of the five senses, at the bottom of which cowers the world of men, wrote this sentence, "with corroding fires" :

"How do you know but ev'ry bird that cuts the airy way
Is an immense world of delight, clos'd by your senses five?"

In this, as in most of his sayings about the senses, we recognise the soaring idealism which lies at the heart of his anarchical defiance. Without any inconsistency, his proverbs recall utterly diverse systems of thought. When he tells us that "the busy bee has no time for sorrow," we might suppose we are listening to some frugal proverb of Franklin or Samuel Smiles. But a few sentences later he is calmly declaring that "the road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom," that "if the fool would persist in his folly he would become wise," and that "Prudence is a rich ugly old maid, courted by Incapacity." But,

then, how beautifully this uncompromising exaltation of production and energy is associated with the self-effacing devotion of Christian ethics in such sayings as that "the cut worm forgives the plow," while Franklin is ironically disposed of in the pleasant assurance that "the eagle never lost so much time as when he submitted to learn of the crow," and in the incisive dictum "Bring out number, weight and measure in a year of dearth." Blake's scorn for measure is, in truth, the attitude of a born Romantic; but it is not quite so defiant of Hellenic μέτρον as it sounds. Measure, number and weight, the standards of the senses, are, like the senses themselves, prison bars which obstruct the vision of infinity. Blake knew well enough that he, as little as other men, could do without the senses, that his own art as a painter was built indissolubly upon visible colour and line; but it was man's business, as he declared in another famous saying later, to "see not with but thro' the eye"; and his quarrel in later years with Wordsworth, whom, in spite of his "atheism," he regarded as the greatest, or indeed the only, poet of his age, was that the poet of Tintern called on men to watch "Nature" precisely with open, receptive eyes, instead of piercing by imagination beyond the obstructive integument of her sights and sounds. There was less divergence between them than Blake thought. For Wordsworth the eye was indeed an organ, not a barrier; it gave occasion to imagination instead of thwarting it, but in the utmost ecstasy of vision it counted for nothing, "the bodily sense went out." Yet, on the other hand—and again this is a paradox, not inconsistency—Blake's passion for infinity is not in the least of the kind which scorns the earth "to lose itself in the sky." The other-wordly abstraction, like all abstractions, is anathema to him. His infinity repudiates measure and weight, but it is to be found in a wild flower and held in the palm of the hand; and so far is "eternity," with him, from subsisting in a remote transcendental region, that he makes it the companion of man in his eager and ardent life; not the far-off object of his adoration, but itself the adoring witness of his feats. "Eternity," he tells us in one of his most searching inversions of common persuasion, "eternity is in love with the productions of time." It was not quite thus that Milton, in the closing lines of *Comus*, declared that "if Virtue feeble were, heaven itself would stoop to her." Blake's universe contains no power that succours feeble virtue; his Eternity is only for the strong.

But with Milton Blake had, as we know, a more specific and fundamental quarrel than this. *Paradise Lost* and its author exercised a lifelong fascination over Blake's powerful and indocile intellect, as he did, during the same years, over the not less stubborn originality of Wordsworth. But while Wordsworth looked back to him with passionate reverence and longing as the one man whom England needed at that hour, Blake regarded him with the mingled homage and indignation of a disciple whose master had been untrue to himself and given the lie in words to his own implicit faith. For Milton "was a true poet and of the Devil's party without knowing it." His real hero in *Paradise Lost* was Satan, and his indignation was only free and unconfined when he was writing of Hell and Fiends. But Milton chose to write in fetters, to pretend that he was telling the story not of boundless aspiration, but of God's constraint of it by commands and prohibitions and penalties. So he called the imposer of restraint the Messiah, and the true Messiah, who fell and fashioned a new heaven in the abyss, Satan. *Paradise Lost* is, indeed, the story of the Fall of Man, a Fall, however, resulting not from his disobedience, but from the successful subjection of his desire, the stuff of energetic life in his manhood, to "reason." For "those who restrain desire," says Blake in one of his trenchant aphorisms, "do so because theirs is weak enough to be restrained," and the restrainer, or reason, usurps its place and governs the unwilling. And, being restrained, it by degrees becomes passive till it is only the shadow of desire, "and man the shadow of man." All this is, of course, as a criticism of Milton, a half-truth; but the half-truth has never been more trenchantly and fearlessly put, and Milton himself recognised its force, from an opposite point of view, when he stripped Satan, as the serpent-tempter of Eve, of the dangerously moving sublimity of the fallen archangel.

III.

The tone of the *Marriage* is untouched by doubt, fear or regret. It is caustic, ironic, often fiercely exultant. Yet exultation was not a mood easily maintained, either by partisans of the Revolution or by its opponents, after 1793. Wordsworth, we know, when he saw his hopes for France and his faith in his own country simultaneously shattered, fell into an abyss of despondency, and for a time "gave up all moral questions in despair." Blake underwent a change at least

outwardly analogous. His symbolic utterance is less transparent than the self-revelation of the *Prelude*, but it is clear that his buoyant assurance is now overclouded. The powers that thwart man's aspiration and curb his will are more potent and more ruthless than he had dreamed. But a new harvest of songs, not less exquisite and delicate in music, but less elemental in emotion and subtler in thought, than the *Songs of Innocence*, came to him as he watched this darkening of the "dawn." The *Songs of Experience*, published in 1794, five years after the earlier collection, was directly put forward as its counterpart. The title-page prefixed to the two collections describes them as "Showing the Contrary States of the Human Soul." Strictly, the "States" shown are not "contrary" even in the sense of Milton's contrast of "Cheerful" and "Pensive" moods, of which Blake was perhaps thinking. The poet of "Experience" is not painting a new picture in contrast with the old, still less holding up the one against the other with Hamlet's "Look here upon this picture and on that." He is rather lifting a curtain and disclosing a menacing and stormy background not visible to the earlier painter, but which does not diminish the truth or the loveliness of what he saw. The tenderness which makes the emmet's wail so poignant, as she thinks, "heart-broke," of her children, only gathers a richer content when he is singing of a world subject to sterner, more implacable forces, where the canker really consumes the rose, and whence the "Sunflower, weary of Time," longs, "counting the steps of the sun," to escape. The "Voice of the Bard" calling on Earth, a lapsed soul weeping in her "den" in the dewy darkness, to "return," for day is breaking, and Earth's "Answer" out of the gloom, have the ineffable pathos of an adagio of Beethoven, and a like miraculous simplicity of phrase and rhythm :

"O Earth, O Earth, return !
 Arise from out the dewy grass ;
 Night is worn,
 And the morn
 Rises from the slumberous mass."

"Earth rais'd up her head
 From the darkness dread and drear,
 Her light fled,
 Stoney dread !
 And her locks cover'd with grey despair."

“ ‘ Prison’d on watery shore
 Starry jealousy does keep my den :
 Cold and hoar,
 Weeping o’er
 I hear the father of the ancient men . . .

“ ‘ Break this heavy chain . . . ! ’ ”

Song of this clear loveliness had not been heard in England since the seventeenth century. Some of the scenes and figures of the former songs reappear, touched to sterner issues. The voices of children are still heard on the green, and the “ Nurse ” calling them home. But now the sun is gone down and the Nurse is sour and pale. “ Holy Thursday ” comes by still, but the crowds of happy children shepherded into Paul’s by kindly old men now evoke only a cry of indignation at the sight of these “ babes ” fed by charity “ with cold and usurous hand.” The little chimney-sweeper’s “ ‘ weep, ‘ weep, ” is now a note of woe, and God, no longer tender and consoling, only listens to the praise of the pious and “ makes a heaven of our misery.” The Garden of Love is filled with graves and overrun with briars, and harm and destruction, instead of preparing the way for new life, like the fading of the lily and the melting of the cloud, now only poison its seeds and springs.

“ The youthful harlot’s curse
 Blasts the new-born infant’s tear,
 And blights with plagues the marriage hearse.”

The little Clod of earth still utters its song of self-effacing love, and with a lyric beauty not yet reached in its answer to Thel, but only to hear the Pebble of the brook’s retort that

“ Love seeketh only self to please,
 To bind another to its delight,
 Joys in another’s loss of ease,
 And builds a Hell in Heaven’s despite.”

And as the Pebble supersedes the Clod, so, in the greatest and most famous of these poems, the Tiger replaces the Lamb. “ Did he who made the Lamb make thee ? ” asks Blake, and he did not mean to invite a pious affirmation in answer. It was not a merciful Father who let loose this deadly terror ; for the world of experience is full of blind, implacable forces which crush man as man’s “ thoughtless hand ” brushes away a fly’s summer joy. But only a great poet, who gloried

in energy, might and wrath, could have conveyed through these hammer-strokes of rhythm the impression of immeasurable hostile power at work in the universe. Most often it was in vast and vague symbols, as in his nearly contemporary picture of Urizen, the spirit of priestly obscurantism and negation—"a shadow of horror . . . unknown, unprolific, dark, revolving in silent activity, unseen in tormenting passions, an activity unknown and horrible. . . ." In the *Tiger* these vague, shadowy symbols give place to a single shape of living intensity and splendour.

IV.

It was, however, in the "Urizen," not in the "Tiger" vein, in shadowy symbols and unfettered, often incoherent, rhythm, not in song, that Blake henceforth communicated the main burden of his message to the world. The change of temper and mood which followed his residence with Hayley at Felpham (1800-1803) is apparent in the later prophetic books. The obsession of earth "weeping" in a den guarded by malign powers, which, in various forms, dominated his imagination throughout the years of revolution, is not overcome. But man's doom in this captive state is no longer embittered by the memory of his lost innocence, or relieved only by the hope of an ultimate regeneration. As Blake sat on the Sussex shore at "Sweet Felpham," the October sun, streaming over land and sea, became a vision of celestial light, and the despised senses, called once more into lively play, subtly contributed to restore imagination. So Wordsworth, in Dorset, a few years before, had recovered the imaginative power through the "gift" of awakened eyes and ears. "Angels of Providence" now watch over fallen man, flower and tree, and bird and insect, though repudiated as material things, become sources of spiritual influence. Above all, man has immediate access through imagination to Eternity; the "world of imagination" and "the world of eternity" being for Blake, as he expressly tells us, the same.¹ From this it was but a step to the assertion that Christ, Eternal God, is incarnated in the imagination of men. Thus the revolutionary anarchism of the *Marriage*, with its ridicule of priests and "Angels," gave place to a new and transcendental Christianity almost equally baffling to the simple believer. This later Christianity of Blake's, ardent and em-

¹ *For the Year, 1810.*

phatic as it is, did not originate in any strictly Christian process of thought. It was rather a by-product of the imaginative exaltation of these years, of the inner glory which seemed to make him, and every other man who imagined it, divinely one with the eternity of the universe. He saw Eternity flooding the mind of every man who imagined, and, since Eternity was the very Body of Christ, the imaginative life became an implicit and continuous incarnation. "I know of no other Christianity," he wrote, "than the liberty both of body and mind to exercise the Divine Arts of Imagination. . . . What is the Divine Spirit? Is the Holy Ghost any other than an Intellectual Fountain?" Is it in this sense that we must understand the rapturous account of his new birth given to his friend Butts in 1802:

"Let me finish with assuring you that, though I have been very unhappy, I am so no longer. I am again emerged into the light of day; I still and shall to Eternity embrace Christianity and adore Him who is the express image of God."

In the power of this faith Blake declared war on the generation which had built the "Satanic mills" of Reason in this England, once a Christian land:

"Bring me my Bow of burning gold,
Bring me my arrows of desire;
Bring me my spear: O clouds, unfold!
Bring me my Chariot of fire!

I will not cease from Mental Fight,
Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant Land."

So he wrote, in 1804, in the poem to *Milton*. The vast, epic *Jerusalem* is the *Iliad* of this prolonged war of Imagination with Reason, of Christ with Satan; a war carried on, if not "by night," in a phantasmal gloom, perplexed with marchings and counter-marchings, until finally Albion is delivered and restored to Christ. And the seer had now a great ally; for Milton, whom the "atheist" Wordsworth had vainly summoned to England's need, and to whom Blake had in the *Marriage* given the direct lie, has abandoned his seat in Eternity, recanted his doctrine, and entered into the body of Blake at Felpham, to proclaim through his lips, with the authority and emphasis of a convert, that self-seeking, which he had once made so magnificent in his Satan, is in truth Satanic, and self-sacrifice and forgiveness divine.

And this faith is the metaphysical background of the later poetry. The great quatrain which opens *Auguries of Innocence* (1810) thus acquires a fuller significance. To

“Hold infinity in the palm of your hand
And eternity in an hour,”

is not hard when “eternity” is thus accessible. That Heaven should “rage” when a redbreast is captive becomes credible when “heaven” is seen in a wild flower. Blake’s vision of eternity on earth had nothing in common with the sentimentality which sees all things touched with an idealising glamour. On the contrary, cruelty and baseness and venal lust “tear the fibres of his brain,” and his abhorrence breaks from him in lines of a concentrated and searing poetry unmatched in their kind in the language :

“The harlot’s cry from street to street
Shall weave Old England’s winding sheet.
The winner’s shout, the loser’s curse
Dance before dead England’s hearse.”

Blake’s greatest poem, *The Everlasting Gospel*, at length arranged in difficult but intelligible order by Dr. Sampson, though composed in 1810, recalls the revolutionary antinomian paradoxes of the *Marriage* twenty years earlier. In brief couplets of concentrated scorn Blake repudiates the meek and lowly Jesus of traditional Christianity. “Was Jesus humble?” He points to the Jesus who broke the laws, disobeyed His parents, and forgave the adulterous woman ; the whole fabric of Jewish law fell to ruin at His touch :

“He laid His hand on Moses’ law :
The ancient Heavens in silent awe,
Writ with curses from pole to pole,
All away began to roll.”

But the purport of *The Everlasting Gospel* is not iconoclasm. Blake dismisses the Jesus of evangelicalism in order to vindicate his own “eternal Christ,” who could not humble Himself without also humbling God, and in whom man, participating through imagination, became one with God, and God with him. With a life so exalted and so instinctive humility and doubt were impossible :

“Humility is only doubt
And does the sun and moon blot out,
Roofing over with thorns and stems
The buried soul with all its gems.”

And Blake puts into the mouth of God his profoundest affirmation of the divineness of Man when he reproves the "humility" of Christ :

"Thou art a man ; God is no more :
Thy own humanity learn to adore,
For that is my spirit of life."

V.

"I will not Reason and Compare," wrote Blake in the *Jerusalem* ; "my business is to Create." And his work has been declared by the late Sir Walter Raleigh to be "one prolonged vindication of the cause of all the artists in the world." It is ; and yet the vindication, magnificently sustained and confident as it was, is incomplete. It can be accepted only with two reserves. One is demanded precisely by "all the artists in the world," whose creative activity he is said to vindicate. He scorned the senses, and suffered for his scorn. He insisted on seeing "through" and not "with" the eye, and what he thus saw was glorious and memorable indeed. But the artist, whatever he sees, has to interpret his visions in terms of form and colour which others must see "with" the eye as the condition of seeing through it, and Blake's often imperfect drawing, like any other kind of faulty translation, merely obscures the meaning. But the transcendent things he had to say glorify even the less defensible idioms of his artist speech.

And they glorify likewise the imperfections which arise from his refusal to "reason and compare." But was this refusal necessary, as he thought, for one whose "business was to create ?" The Romantic in him assumed it, but the Romantic psychology which repudiated consecutive thinking in the name of "inspiration" was a disease of its time. Dante (in whose mind many modern dilemmas find their implicit solution) knew nothing of that peremptory antithesis. A creator of no less heroic nerve (to say the least) than Blake, he was also incomparably greater both as a thinker and as a poetic artist. It had not occurred to the disciple of Virgil and of Thomas Aquinas that imaginative intuition and consecutive thought were inconsistent processes. Dante's cosmos may be as fundamentally irrational as Blake's, his vision of eternal things no less beset with myth. But the irrationality of Dante is in the strictest sense a "function" of his reason ; his imagination, of far vaster compass and security than Blake's, satisfies even too

completely the intellect's eagerness to have all questions answered, all the mysteries of the religious consciousness resolved. His universe is clear and radiant *wie am ersten Tag*, where Blake's is a chaos at once sublime and confused. And Dante's vision of eternal things, so much more cogent and consistent than Blake's, goes along with, or at bottom grows out of, a mastery of the nature and history of the sub-lunary world to which Blake was, to his grave hurt, completely strange. His scorn for number and measure was an amusing but significant example of this. Number, the plaything of "Saint Isaac," measure, the pitiful resource of frugality in "a year of dearth," was for Dante, as for Pythagoras and Plato, a vital element in the structure of the universe, as of all adequate thought about it. The hundred cantos of the *Comedy* were not the device of an artist with an eye for symmetry. Dante, of all poets, did not sing "as the linnet sings," and the author of the *Vita Nuova* confounds the adherent of that theory of poetry by minutely explaining the plan on which his sonnets are built. But neither the *Vita Nuova* nor the *Comedy* is less consummate poetry because they are articulately thought out. Blake's vision itself suffers because imagination is not adequately sustained by the fundamental thinking which Dante Rossetti postulated as the basis of a sonnet. The vision is not fully mastered. When Arthur Symonds showed Rodin some of Blake's drawings, assuring him that he actually saw what he painted, Rodin replied, "Yes, he saw it once, but he ought to have seen it three or four times." Both in painting and in poetry his inspiration had in it something fortuitous, incalculable and insecure; and between the lightning flashes there often intervened tracts of dubious and imperfectly vital work hardly paralleled in one who saw so intensely when he saw. But these great moments are often charged with an apprehension of sublimity or of loveliness, of goodness and of pity, of the awe and beauty which can be evoked from the contours of the human body and the rhythms of artless song, in their kind unexampled. He was not the greatest poet of his generation. But neither Wordsworth nor Shelley had a more intense vision of poetry than this lonely prophet of the imagination, who uttered their common faith in accents as clear as theirs while the one was still struggling in the meshes of artificial diction, and the other was unborn.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.¹

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IF we are seeking to ascertain the course which Old Testament criticism is taking and rightly appreciate its significance, we shall do well if, at the outset, we look back over the path it has already travelled. For the movement is continuous ; each new stage of the way, every fresh direction along which the explorers advance, will be conditioned by the earlier development. The story is now a long one and I must limit myself to the outstanding landmarks.

I begin with the criticism of the Pentateuch. It is to this that attention has been chiefly directed, and it is also the most important branch of our subject. I do not mean, of course, that the Pentateuch is intrinsically the most valuable element in the Old Testament. But the view we take as to its critical analysis, the chronological order of the documents from which it has been compiled, and the dates to which they should be assigned, is momentous for our reconstruction of the development of Hebrew literature and religion. If we adhere to tradition and affirm the Mosaic authorship of the first five books of the Bible, we shall obviously envisage the history of Israel's literary activity and the growth of its religion quite otherwise than if we accept the critical theories which deny the unity of authorship and assign the documents they disengage to different periods of the national development. On the traditional theory a highly organised system of worship and an elaborate code of laws formed the basis on which the nation was constituted and the religion was established. A far from

¹ This contains the substance of a lecture delivered at the John Rylands Library. But I have incorporated several extracts from my Presidential Address delivered to the Society for Old Testament Study, 1 January 1924.

rudimentary theology was formulated simultaneously with the birth of the nation and the founding of its religion. On the critical theory little, if any, of the Pentateuch goes back to the time of Moses. A large section of it is not much earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem, a larger section is probably more than a century later still. This difference involved a corresponding difference in the estimate of the prophets. According to the traditional hypothesis the prophets were much later than the Law and subordinate to it. Their function was to enforce its precepts, to upbraid their contemporaries for transgression of its injunctions, to foretell the future fortunes of God's kingdom on earth and its consummation in the coming of the Messiah. Not only were they later than the Law, they had behind them much of the poetical and wisdom literature. Sage and Psalmist were also themselves dependent on the Law; but before the era of the great prophets, David and other sweet singers of Israel, Solomon and his fellow-experts in wisdom, the poet to whom we owe the Book of Job, had given to their people their hymns and aphorisms and their meditations on the deeper mysteries of life. If then the traditional theory of the sequence in which these classes of literature had appeared should be radically disturbed, it is obvious that far-reaching results would follow. Whereas the prophets had been regarded as secondary and derivative and the Law as primary and original, this relationship would have to be reversed. The significance of the prophetic movement would be immeasurably enhanced while our estimate of the Pentateuch would be lowered. It was towards this radical revision of the accepted values that the course of criticism steadily moved.

Quite early in the history of criticism attention had been called by various writers to elements in the Pentateuch which seemed inconsistent with Mosaic authorship; and the intensive study of later scholars has brought more evidence of the kind to light. There are things which Moses can hardly have written, there are references which carry us down later than his time. It would be possible to explain away this evidence by the hypothesis that a fundamentally Mosaic work had been edited at a much later date, and that these indications of non-Mosaic or post-Mosaic origin were due to this editorial revision. Such an explanation, however, would be legitimate only if we had decisive independent evidence that the work as a whole was Mosaic.

But it is precisely evidence of this kind which is lacking. In the absence of any trustworthy external testimony to the authorship and date, we must scrutinise the document itself. And if we treat it as we treat other documents these features, so far from being dismissed as later accretions, will assume a primary importance as testimony to the later origin. The presence of these non-Mosaic and post-Mosaic elements must be held to prove that the Pentateuch itself is non-Mosaic and post-Mosaic.

This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence which demonstrates composite authorship. The Pentateuch has been analysed into different documentary sources. The evidence is to be found in discrepancies in statement of fact or in legislation, in repetitions, in stylistic differences, in change of dominant interest, and divergence in point of view. These various differences are associated; they appear and disappear together. They cannot reasonably be explained otherwise than by a change of writers.

The starting-point for the modern critical analysis was given by Jean Astruc¹ in 1753. He called attention to the difference in the use of the Divine names, Yahweh and Elohim, and on this basis carried through the analysis of Genesis and the first two chapters of Exodus. He did not challenge the Mosaic authorship of the

¹ Astruc's work is entitled *Conjectures sur les Memoires Originaux Dont il paroît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le Livre de la Genese. Avec des Remarques, qui appuient ou qui éclaircissent ces Conjectures*. The work is now rare. I might mention as a matter of bibliographical curiosity that my own copy contains some pages in duplicate but with variations. It may be added that the author was a Roman Catholic physician, and that his work was unfavourably received by contemporary critics including J. D. Michaelis.

In the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* for 1925 Professor Adolphe Lods calls attention to a German predecessor, Henning Bernhard Witter, a pastor at Hildesheim. In a work published in 1711 he drew attention to the alternation of the Divine names, the presence of doublets and the diversity of style. He inferred from these phenomena the difference of authors. The first two of these criteria were employed by Astruc, the third does not reappear before Eichhorn. But Witter was concerned only with the Creation story and not with the whole of Genesis. His views were attacked in the following year by Hermann von Elswich; but they quickly passed into oblivion and Professor Lods has not been able to trace any reference to him as a precursor of Astruc except in works by Scharbau (1758) and Sixt (1782).

Pentateuch, but supposed that Moses had employed documents for the earlier history. It was not till just a hundred years later that in 1853 Hermann Hupfeld established in his *Die Quellen der Genesis*, the existence of two writers who used Elohim as a proper name, though this had been pointed out by K. D. Ilgen¹ in 1798. J. G. Eichhorn, the teacher of Ewald, in his *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1783) reached independently results similar to those of Astruc. Dr. Alexander Geddes in the first volume of his translation of the Old Testament (1792), while rejecting Astruc's clue to the analysis, recognised that the Pentateuch was not the work of Moses, though it incorporated his journals along with other early writings. De Wette² in 1806-1807 identified the book of the Law, discovered in the reign of Josiah, with Deuteronomy and compared the religious institutions in the earlier historical books with the laws of the Pentateuch. After Hupfeld's demonstration of the existence of two Elohist documents had been accepted, the analysis of the Pentateuch was in its main lines complete. In addition to Deuteronomy, which obviously stood by itself, a Yahwist document now commonly known as J and two Elohist documents, usually designated E and P, were recognised. The generally accepted view was that the Priestly Document was the earliest, Deuteronomy the latest, while J and E came in between. Although the distinction between E and P had not been established till the nineteenth century had run half its course, already in 1833-1834 Eduard Reuss³ had divined the late origin of the Priestly

¹ Ilgen's work had an extremely long title of which I give the opening words: *Die Urkunden der Jerusalem'schen Tempelarchivs in ihrer Urgestalt*. Cheyne says in his *Founders of Old Testament Criticism* (1893), that he had not been able to see the work; "Ilgen's book is, in fact, rarer than Astruc's *Conjectures*." I was fortunate enough to secure a copy a number of years ago.

² The title of De Wette's work is *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament*.

³ Reuss was Professor at Strasbourg, and he had formulated a certain number of theses which he communicated to his students but had not ventured to publish. They were of great historical importance because they formed the starting-point for Graf and others who had heard them enunciated in his lecture-room. He gave the most important of them to the world in 1879 in the first volume of his translation of the Old Testament, *L'Histoire Sainte and la Loi*, Vol. I., pp. 23 f. The English reader will find them more readily in the translation of Wellhausen's *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, p. 4. In the German original they will be found on pp. 4 and 5 of

legislation embodied in P while in 1835 Vatke¹ and George had published a similar anticipation of what is known as the Grafian theory. This theory was put forward by K. H. Graf, a pupil of Reuss, towards the end of 1865,² at first in the form that the narrative

the third edition (1886). It should be added that in all these cases the twelve theses quoted are given in French. In the posthumous German translation of the Old Testament (1893) Reuss gives an interesting statement as to his own relation to the criticism of the Pentateuch later associated with the name of his pupil Graf. (*Das Alte Testament*, Vol. III., pp. 19 f.). See also his *Geschichte des Alten Testaments* (1890), pp. 485-493.

¹ Vatke's work was the first part of the first volume of a projected treatise on Biblical Theology entitled *Die Biblische Theologie Wissenschaftlich Dargestellt*. It is a curious coincidence that Geddes' translation of the Old Testament was never completed; that of Ilgen's remarkable work only the first volume appeared; that Vatke's great work remained only a considerable fragment; and that of Wellhausen's *Geschichte Israels*, Vol. II., was never published. (In 1894 his *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte* appeared. This grew out of his article "Israel" in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and served as a substitute for the unpublished second volume.)

Vatke's influence as a lecturer was deeply appreciated by several students who were to reach great eminence. Hilgenfeld enumerates Strauss, Zeller, Biedermann, Holsten, Holtzmann, and himself. His *Biblische Theologie*, however, produced little result at the time, partly through the uncouth Hegelian jargon in which it was written, partly because the time for appreciation was not ripe. At a later date Wellhausen spoke of him with enthusiasm. Referring to the attacks on the Grafian theory he says, "The firemen never came near the spot where the conflagration raged; for it is only within the region of religious antiquities and dominant religious ideas—the region which Vatke in his *Biblische Theologie*, had occupied in its full breadth, and where the real battle first kindled—that the controversy can be brought to a definite issue. (*Prolegomena*, p. 12.) A little later he says: "My enquiry proceeds on a broader basis than that of Graf, and comes nearer to that of Vatke, from whom indeed I gladly acknowledge myself to have learnt best and most (*l.c.*, p. 13).

One of the strangest incidents in the history of the controversy is that Vatke himself abandoned his position at a later time. His final view is to be found in the posthumous *Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1886) based upon his lectures. He dates the Priestly Document after E, that is after 716, towards the end of the eighth or at the beginning of the seventh century, probably in the closing years of Hezekiah (p. 388). On p. 402 he has an interesting reference to his earlier work and the volume published by J. F. L. George in the same year—*Die älteren Jüdischen Feste mit einer Kritik der Gesetzgebung des Pentateuch*.

² Graf's volume was entitled *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments*. The title-page bears the date 1866, but Kuenen informs us that "as a matter of fact it appeared towards the close of 1865." (*The*

in the Priestly document was early but the legislation late. Then in deference to Kuenen's criticism he advanced to the position that the document as a whole was the latest element in the Pentateuch. Kuenen¹ argued powerfully for this position and was supported by Duhm² and other scholars; but it was not till 1878 that Wellhausen's demonstration was published which lifted the Grafian theory from the position of a critical heresy and established it as the orthodox critical view.³

While great scholars such as Dillmann and Nöldeke, Baudissin and Kittel, remained unconvinced, the Grafian theory became, for an increasing band of students, the unquestioned basis on which the

Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch, p. xix.) I mention this because, in forgetfulness of Kuenen's statement, Dr. Orr once challenged the accuracy of my statement that it was published in 1865. On the change in Graf's view, in deference to Kuenen's criticism, see his *Hexateuch*, pp. xix-xxiv.

¹Kuenen's *De Godsdienst van Israel* (1869-1870) was the first to present the development of Hebrew religion on the basis of the Grafian theory. It was translated into English under the title *Religion of Israel* (1874-1875). He carried on the investigation in detail in articles in the "Theologisch Tijdschrift." Writing in 1885 Robertson Smith speaks of these articles as "perhaps the finest things that modern criticism can show." The first edition of Kuenen's Introduction to the Old Testament was published in 1861-1865, the second edition, which was not completed, began to appear in 1885 with the section on the Hexateuch. This was translated by P. H. Wicksteed in 1886. The book is too detailed for all except special students; but the general reader who is interested in the development of the subject should by no means fail to read the important introduction which sketches the history of the criticism of the Hexateuch during the interval which elapsed between the publication of the first and the second editions.

²Duhm's work bore the title *Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der Israelitischen Religion*. The author was, as Kuenen says, the first to break the consensus of the German critics. He was twenty-eight at the time.

³Julius Wellhausen, who had been one of Duhm's teachers, published his first researches on the Composition of the Hexateuch in 1876-1877. He had learnt of Graf's thesis in 1867 and, thanks to the course of his own studies, he was prepared to accept it, since he had discovered that the generally accepted view that the Law was prior to the historical and prophetic books was not borne out by his investigations, but only threw things into confusion. The decisive blow, however, was struck in his *Geschichte Israels* Erster Band (1878). In its later editions it appeared under the title *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. This was translated into English from the second edition of 1883 under the title *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (1885).

reconstruction of the history of Israel's literature and religion rested. It was naturally rejected by those who adhered to the traditional view; but they rejected the earlier forms of the critical hypothesis also. Several adherents of the traditional school recognised, however, that, if the documentary theory had to be accepted, its most logical form was that given to it by Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen. The reasons which led to the change of view were very cogent. When the different codes were compared, in order that the history of religious institutions might be reconstructed, it was found that there was a development from the legislation in the Book of the Covenant to that in the Priestly Code which could be accounted for on the assumption that the Deuteronomic legislation stood chronologically between the two. Deuteronomy, in its original form, was universally recognised by critics as the code on which the Reformation of Josiah was based. It was believed to have been written not very long before its discovery. This gave a fixed period for the origin of the book. But the centralisation of the cultus at Jerusalem and the suppression of the high places or local sanctuaries had consequences which the authors had not anticipated. They had provided for the priests of the suppressed sanctuaries (Deut. xviii. 8), but the priests at Jerusalem refused to carry out the contemplated arrangement (2 Kings xxiii. 8, 9). Deuteronomy does not draw any distinction between priests and Levites. But we find this distinction recognised in the Priestly Document. To the descendants of Aaron alone is the right to offer sacrifice committed. The other members of the tribe of Levi perform the menial service of the tabernacle. The origin of this distinction is to be found in Ezekiel xlv. 10-16. He draws a distinction between the sons of Zadok, that is the priests of the temple at Jerusalem and the Levites who had gone astray, by whom he presumably meant the priests of the local sanctuaries. In the new constitution which is to be set up after the return from captivity, the right of offering sacrifice is restricted to the sons of Zadok, while the Levites are degraded from the Priesthood. It is obvious that the order of the documents must be Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, Priestly Code. Deuteronomy tries to preserve the status of the priests of the local sanctuaries and make provision for their maintenance. Its provisions being found impracticable, Ezekiel deprives them of their status as a punishment for their misconduct, but secures a livelihood for them. The Priestly Code

adopts this distinction, but carries it back to the wilderness period and extends the priesthood to all the descendants of Aaron. In the Priestly Code the position of the Levites is attained by elevation above the other tribes and constitutes a single mark of the Divine favour ; while Ezekiel treats it as a degradation from the priesthood due to the Divine displeasure at their ritual misconduct. Had Ezekiel been aware of the regulations in the Priestly Code there would have been no problem for him to solve. But with the sequence adopted by the Grafian critics each stage naturally evolves from the preceding. Deuteronomy legislates for the priests, deprived of their work and emoluments by the suppression of their sanctuaries. The arrangement is thwarted by the priesthood at Jerusalem. Ezekiel proposes a compromise. The priests of the suppressed sanctuaries lose their priestly status, as their conduct deserved ; but employment at the Temple is found for them. This solution is later incorporated in the Priestly legislation ; but since that legislation is dated in the wilderness period it cannot be represented as inflicting punishment for offences committed long afterwards. It must therefore be treated as conferring an honourable distinction on the tribe to which Moses and Aaron belong.

The conclusion which is suggested by these facts is confirmed by numerous phenomena derived from a comparison of the Law with the historical books and the prophetic literature and by a detailed investigation of the relation in which the different codes of law stand to each other. I am not stating the detailed argument for the truth of the Grafian hypothesis and therefore do not follow out these lines of proof. But in order to make the account of the later developments intelligible, it has been necessary to touch somewhat fully on the sequence of documents suggested by the legislation on the Levites.

My main purpose, however, is to indicate the recent developments, whether those developments have been in the direction of a more conservative or a more radical criticism. It is desirable to anticipate some misunderstandings. It is not unusual to see statements to the effect that some of the Old Testament critics have admitted the breakdown of the Grafian reconstruction. Gunkel and Sellin are perhaps the names most frequently cited in this connexion. But both these scholars accept the truth of the Grafian theory as I have defined it. The use of the term "Grafian" should be restricted to the view that the Priestly Code

is the latest of the Pentateuchal documents and is later than Ezekiel.¹ But since the scholars most closely identified with this reaction are themselves Grafian critics, it is clear that the term must be used by them in a wider sense. Now it is true that such leading representatives of this critical theory as Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade, and Duhm, also agreed in holding a rather radical theory as to the development of Hebrew religion, characterised by a depreciatory estimate of the Hebrew religion from its foundation by Moses to the rise of the great eighth century prophets. It is of this that such scholars as Sellin and Gunkel are specially thinking when they use the kind of language to which I have referred. It is rather regrettable that they should use it, since it is possible to quote their language to suggest the repudiation of a position which they really accept. It is much to be desired, in the interests alike of clearness and of accuracy, that the term "Grafian" should be restricted to the theory as to the order and date of the documents which I have explained above; and that it should not be extended to cover a theory of Israel's early religious history which the most eminent and representative Grafians held. The critical hypothesis of Keunen and Wellhausen does not stand or fall with their reconstruction of the religious development from Moses to Amos. It is at the same time true that both Gunkel and Sellin exhibit a certain conservative strain in their criticism to which I must direct further attention.

I may begin, however, with a reference to the attempts which have been made to discredit all forms of the critical theory and to rehabilitate tradition. The analysis of the Pentateuch into its constituent documents started from the observation that the use of the Divine names Yahweh and Elohim was due to the employment of different sources, while with the discovery that two documents employed Elohim as a proper name the accepted analysis into four main documents first became possible. It has been asserted that the basis on which this rested was insecure. For it was assumed that the Divine names were correctly transmitted in the Hebrew text, whereas the evidence of the Septuagint made it

¹ I have referred to this point in my Introduction to the translation of Sellin's *Introduction to the Old Testament* and in the Introduction to *The People and the Book*. I may add that when, more than twenty years ago, I called attention to the same point, Dr. Driver wrote a letter to me expressing his concurrence with my plea for the restriction of the term to its proper significance.

clear that these names were in not a few instances different in the Greek text from the names given in the Hebrew. The impression has accordingly been sedulously fostered that since the critical analysis rests on the distribution of the Divine names it is vitiated by the uncertainty of the text.¹

But such a conclusion is wholly unwarranted. We must not confuse the starting-point with the foundation. The observation that now Yahweh and now Elohim predominated, where no distinction in significance could reasonably be attached to the choice, naturally suggested that documents had been combined which were characterised by a preference for one or the other title. The employment of this clue led to encouraging results; but it was wholly inadequate to achieve the analysis of the Pentateuch into four main documents. In the first place the studious avoidance of the name Yahweh by the Elohist writers ceases after the revelation of the name in Exod. vi. Secondly it could not lead to the discrimination between P and E. For both of these documents used Elohim and avoided Yahweh down to the opening chapters of Exodus. But it is much easier for critics to distinguish P from E than E from J in spite of the fact that in the former case the Divine names are identical and in the latter case distinct. It is clear

¹The names to be specially mentioned here are B. D. Eerdmans, J. Dahse, and H. M. Wiener. The first of these published in 1908, *Die Composition der Genesis*. This was the opening issue of a series entitled *Alttestamentliche Studien*. It broke with the documentary analysis, repudiating the criterion afforded by the difference in the Divine names. Three more instalments of the work have appeared, *Die Vorgeschichte Israels* (1908), *Das Buch Exodus* (1910), *Das Buch Leviticus* (1912). His discussions contain a great deal that is valuable in detail. I have expressed my judgment on his conclusions on the point before us in *The Bible: its Origin, its Significance, and its Abiding Worth* (1913), pp. 170-172. Dahse followed up an article in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1903), pp. 305-319, with the first part of a work entitled *Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage* (1912). H. M. Wiener has published a number of works, of which his *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism* (1909) may be mentioned here. Dr. Skinner criticised their views, so far as they had been published at the time, in his commentary on Genesis (1910), pp. xxxv-xxxvii, but with very great thoroughness in his volume, *The Divine Names in Genesis* (1914). See also Driver's *Introduction*, 9th edition (1913), Addenda, pp. xxvi-xxxiii. More recently Canon J. Battersby Harford has published a series of articles in "The Expositor" entitled *Since Wellhausen* (July-December, 1925). These are strongly to be recommended for their searching examination of the attempts recently made to discredit the critical theory.

accordingly that the analysis must be guided by other clues ; and these are in fact present in considerable numbers. While the use of the Divine names set critics on the track, it is frequently not the most important criterion for discrimination of documents and for a hundred years it led critics on a false scent because it induced them to regard as constituting a single document compositions so distinct and indeed incompatible as P and E.

Nor can we attach much importance to the objection that the analysis is so detailed and minute that no confidence can be felt in the results. Critics themselves insist that as the analysis passes to its more delicate division of sources, it is frequently only tentative and hypothetical. If the critic is convinced, however, that he has a double thread before him it is quite legitimate to push the separation as far as he can take it, so long as he makes clear the stages by which he passes from the region of reasonable probability to that of the nebulous and uncertain. The strength of the case rests on the general evidence for the composite character of the passage and the presence of well-marked criteria by which the constituent elements can be discriminated. The fingers gain deftness with practice and delicacy of touch, so that the expert may train himself to detect and follow the finer clues which would elude the observation of the unskilled. It is not, however, on the last refinements of analysis, but on the broader and plainer indications, that the case for documentary dissection can safely rest.

Before I pass to the chronological arrangement and the approximate dating of the documents I may mention a revision of the generally accepted theory that apart from Deuteronomy three main documents J, E and P were to be recognised. Students have long been familiar with the view that different strata can be detected within J. In this connexion the work of Schrader, Wellhausen, Budde, Gunkel may specially be mentioned. But in his elaborate work on *The Narrative of the Hexateuch* (1912), Smend analysed the whole of the narrative sections into four independent documents, J 1, J 2, E and P. In this, as I learn from Eissfeldt, he had been partially anticipated by Bruston in some articles he wrote in 1885. Eissfeldt has worked on similar lines in his *Hexateuch-Synopse* (1922). In this he publishes a German translation of the narratives arranged in four columns. For J 1 he uses the symbol L. The choice of this symbol has been suggested by the use of P for the Priestly Document, L standing at the other

extreme is so called to indicate its lay character. I do not linger on the hypothesis, for even if it should be generally accepted, it would not, in spite of its interest, mark any revolutionary development.

At this point I think it would be well, before passing to the more crucial issues in the criticism of the Pentateuch, to touch upon the more general features of the situation. We hear a good deal about the reaction in Old Testament criticism. It may be well to recall a New Testament parallel. In 1897 Harnack published the first volume of his *Chronologie*. It was introduced by a preface which was hailed with what I cannot but think an extravagant delight and sense of relief. We were, it would seem, moving on a full flood back to tradition. Dr. Sanday hastened to give it prominence and to express his pleasure that what British scholars had for so long asserted was now endorsed with the weighty authority of Harnack's range and depth of knowledge and mastery of critical method. But the actual discussions of critical problems in the book itself quickly showed with what grave qualifications of the optimistic interpretation put upon it Harnack's preface had to be read. When from general assertions the reader passed to detailed problems it was quite another story. And so it is with Old Testament criticism. No doubt there is an element of truth in the assertion that here also there is a reaction. When a candid friend said to Burnand "*Punch* isn't as good as it used to be," he made the retort, as effective as it was witty, "It never was." And if we are told that the long-predicted event has at last come off and that there is a reaction in Old Testament criticism, I can only reply "There always has been." It is just as true that there is an advance. Within the critical movement itself we must recognise on either side of the main body a radical and a conservative wing.

The scholars who, while accepting the main critical results, yet plead for a more conservative attitude than has been commonly taken urge that the older criticism was far too provincial. It explained the literature and religion of Israel too much as the result of forces restricted to Israel. From this insularity they desire to rescue the study and to set it in its larger context. Gunkel's volume *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895) was very significant here. Whatever may be thought of the actual conclusions reached, the book was undeniably important for its method and point of view. It had a decisive effect on the criticism of the Book of Revelation, since some phenomena which had been ex-

plained as due to the combination of different sources received another explanation. Gunkel argued that the old Babylonian creation story of the conflict between Marduk and Tiamat, the demon of chaos, had left its mark very deeply on the later literature. The tradition had had a long history and to this might be traced the origin of some features which earlier critics had attributed to purely literary causes. The publication of the book suggested that Gunkel might be counted on as a formidable opponent of analytic criticism. This unlucky anticipation was completely falsified by his commentary on Genesis (1901, 3rd ed. 1908-1909), in which the generally accepted critical results were adopted and developed by a still finer analysis. It was none the less momentous that attention should be directed not simply to the dissection of the documents but to the long history, largely pre-literary, through which the tradition had gone.

It was obvious that foreign sources had to be taken into account. The influence of the pagan antecedents and environment had more and more to be reckoned with. It is true that this had not been neglected. Two of the outstanding champions of the Grafian theory, Wellhausen and Robertson Smith,¹ had given much attention to the roots of the Hebrew religion in Semitic paganism, especially as represented by Arabia. Egypt was believed to have contributed nothing of importance.² The affinities of the story of Creation and the Flood

¹ Wellhausen's *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (1887), second edition (1897). Robertson Smith *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (1885), second edition edited by Dr. Stanley A. Cook (1903); *The Religion of the Semites* (1889), second edition 1894. A new edition enriched by more than two hundred pages of additional notes has been prepared by Dr. Stanley Cook (1927).

² See what Kuenen says on this point in his Hibbert Lectures, *National Religions and Universal Religions* (1882), pp. 59-61, and the pungent sentences in Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*, p. 440. He admits that it was not inconceivable, though quite incapable of proof, that Moses was indebted to the Egyptian priests for personal culture or external details in matters of ritual. He continues "But the origin of the germ which developed into Israel is not to be sought for in Egypt, and Jehovah has nothing in common with the colourless divinity of Penta-Ur or with the God-forsaken dreariness of certain modern Egyptologists." In the first edition of his *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte* (1894), he says that Moses and Phineas bore Egyptian names. In other respects there is no trace of Egyptian influence on the oldest History of Israel, and Yahweh is as un-Egyptian as possible (p. 14). In the seventh edition (1914) he speaks with much greater reserve (pp. 31 f.).

with the Babylonian myth, were, of course, recognised, but variously explained; and a good deal of reserve was felt in recognising direct Babylonian influence on the religion of Israel. The problem of origins was regarded as relatively simple. But such notable discoveries as the Tell el-Amarna documents and the Code of Hammurabi, together with much besides which was less sensational but still important, widened our horizons and enabled us to realise more fully the complexity of the issues. For a time attention was mainly directed to the peoples in surrounding countries, but recently it has been specially concentrated on Canaan itself. Here numerous races have mingled and different forms of civilisation and religion have been in contact, so that the conditions which the Hebrews found when they settled in Palestine were unusually complex. All of this had a direct bearing on the reconstruction of the history of Hebrew religion.

But this in its turn affected the solution of the critical problems. I will illustrate this from a subject on which I have previously spoken at length¹—the question as to the origin of Hebrew eschatology. It was argued along quite different lines by Eduard Meyer and Gressmann² that this eschatology was borrowed early in the history of Hebrew religion from a foreign source which Meyer, on the basis of certain Egyptian prophecies, asserted to be Egypt. This hypothesis came directly in conflict with the accepted view. Under Wellhausen's influence it was widely held that eschatology was a late development. It had a literary origin in the study of the earlier prophets and the harmonising and systematising of the forecasts in their unfulfilled prophecies. Ezekiel had set the example. A presumption was accordingly created that eschatological sections in the earlier prophetic literature were exilic or post-exilic insertions. And this was pushed by some scholars, notably of course by Duhm and Marti, to much greater lengths than Wellhausen himself had taken it. If, however, eschatology was a very early ingredient in the religious beliefs of the Hebrews, then an eschatological passage might still, of course, be assigned to a late date but not simply on the ground that it was eschatological. I am myself inclined to be sceptical about this pre-prophetic

¹ *The Roots of Hebrew Prophecy and Jewish Apocalyptic* (1923).

² E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906), pp. 451-455; H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (1905).

eschatology, and in any case think that inferences should be drawn from it with great caution. But it is clear on the other hand that equal caution should be displayed in drawing the inference that because a passage is eschatological it must therefore be late. This is one of the most noteworthy illustrations of the bearing on literary problems of conclusions as to the development of the religion based on a study of Israel's pagan environment.

I can now return to the more recent developments in the criticism of the Pentateuch. For more than a hundred years the point of Archimedes in this subject has been the identification of the Law Book of Josiah's Reformation with some form of Deuteronomy. For Grafians and pre-Grafians alike this was axiomatic. The contention between the Grafians and their opponents turned on the place in the series to be assigned to the Priestly writing. And even as a matter of the internal criticism of the Pentateuch itself the Grafian view that P represented the final stage in the development and presupposed the Deuteronomic Law seemed the more probable of the two alternatives. But the identification of Deuteronomy with the Book of the Law discovered in the reign of Josiah has been challenged by various scholars and most recently and elaborately by Hölscher.¹ The lower limit for the main body of the Deuteronomic Code was thought to be fixed by the correspondence of the reforms effected by Josiah with the regulations of Deuteronomy, and by the influence of the Law Book on Jeremiah and Ezekiel. But none of these three bases has been untouched by later criticism. The earlier critics, it would seem, were too trustful and built on the narrative of Josiah's Reformation in the Second Book of Kings, taken pretty much at its face value. On the revolution in the criticism of Jeremiah I must speak later; but at this point I may say that I recognise that the relation between Deuteronomy and the Book of Jeremiah presents a very difficult and complex problem and believe that some of the passages which exhibit Deuteronomic affinities most clearly belong to the secondary sections of the Book. I

¹ Gustav Hölscher, *Komposition und Ursprung des Deuteronomiums* in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. Band 40 (1922), pp. 161-255; *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion* (1922), pp. 130-134. I may add that this volume provides the most convenient conspectus of the author's very radical and far-reaching theories. It is crammed with information and very rich in Biblical and other references.

must also touch later on Hölischer's criticism of Ezekiel, limiting myself at present to the bare fact that he brings down very large sections of the Book of Ezekiel to a much later date than Ezekiel's own time. I have already pointed out that the Grafian criticism arranged the documents in this order JE, Deuteronomy, Ezekiel's legislation, the Priestly Code. If this sequence is to be retained and we attribute the regulations in the last nine chapters of Ezekiel to the prophet himself, we must put the kernel of Deuteronomy before the Exile and indeed identify it with the code of law which gave the impetus to Josiah's Reformation. If, however, the Deuteronomic Code is dated about 500, then such portions of Ezekiel as presuppose Deuteronomy must be brought down to a later date and the Priestly Code must be later still. Possibly the most interesting result which emerges is that Hölischer does retain the Grafian sequence. He realises that the development goes from Deuteronomy to P with Ezekiel as its middle term. But the original P he takes to have been a historical work, the legal portions being later additions. The story of Ezra's activity he regards, with Torrey, as altogether legendary.

A reconstruction so far-reaching and audacious can obviously not be examined here. I must simply express my grave doubts as to the correctness of any of the crucial contentions. I am out of sympathy with his sceptical handling of the story of the Reformation, with his argument for bringing down the date of Deuteronomy to the close of the sixth century, with his radical criticism of Jeremiah, and the still more drastic handling of Ezekiel. The identification of the Deuteronomic Code with the programme of Josiah's Reformation seems to me to remain secure, and this is the pivot on which the Grafian construction turns.

But the dominant theory is attacked by those who regard it as too extreme as well as by those who blame it for its conservatism. It is specially Deuteronomy which is in question here. Professor A. C. Welch in his *Code of Deuteronomy* (1924) has argued for a much earlier date for the great majority of the laws. It has been generally held that the main object of the legislator was to purify the worship by the centralisation of the cultus at Jerusalem. Dr. Welch argues that if we look at the individual laws they do not lend themselves to that hypothesis. The idea of centralisation is not to be found in most of them, they are concerned with the worship at the local sanctuaries

which were scattered all over the country. The conflict which the author has in mind is that between Yahweh and the local Baalim, and he connects the Code, as some others have done, with the Northern Kingdom rather than the Southern and takes it back to the early monarchy or perhaps even to the time of the Judges. It is not forgotten, of course, that when the legislative section begins with the twelfth chapter the centralisation of the worship is definitely commanded. But it is answered that this was prefixed to the Code when the reforming party was engineering the Reformation in Josiah's reign. Several scholars have argued that Jeremiah was referring in viii. 8 to elements in Deuteronomy with which he was not in sympathy. His words are "How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of the LORD is with us? But, behold, the false pen of the scribes hath wrought falsely." Dr. Welch thinks that Jeremiah is referring to the prefixing of the law of centralisation to the Code.

It is difficult to discuss in a very general statement like the present a theory which rests on the investigation of so many points of detail. But some general remarks may be offered. It is not the view of critics that the Deuteronomic Code was a collection of entirely new laws. Far from it; it embodies and expands the laws already contained in the Book of the Covenant. The Priestly Code itself recognises institutions and religious conceptions which can be explained only by going back to a condition of things far more primitive and indeed savage than that at which Hebrew culture stood. And while it is the case that some laws, which have been commonly regarded as corollaries of the edict of centralisation, are perhaps to be otherwise explained, it is far from likely that this applies throughout. Moreover, since the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xx. 23-xxiii. 33) precedes the Deuteronomic Code, and this earlier legislation was apparently composed after the settlement in Palestine, we must beware of placing the Deuteronomic Code too early. Nor must it be forgotten that several arguments, quite apart from the law of centralisation, point to a date not earlier than the latter part of the eighth century. Moreover we are entitled to attach the greatest weight to the fact that this demand for centralisation does stand at the beginning of the Code. Unless very grave reason to the contrary can be offered, we are justified in the inference that this section lays down a fundamental principle for the legislation as a whole. There is no doubt that Josiah and those who

collaborated with him understood the law in this way. Even if an earlier date for many of the individual laws could be made good than I believe to be probable, it would still not radically alter the generally accepted critical position. The Grafian sequence would remain; so, too, the identification of Josiah's Law Book with the Deuteronomic Code which was the pivot on which the development turned.

Before leaving the question of the Pentateuch I may refer to Löhr's investigations which began to appear in 1924 with a study of the Priestly Code in Genesis.¹ The author is a well-known Old Testament scholar, and it is remarkable that at the age of threescore he should launch out in a novel direction and one so revolutionary. His object is to discredit the view that the Pentateuch has been put together out of four main documents. He regards it as the work of Ezra and his associates. Ezra had at his disposal a great mass of pre-exilic material—material of very various kinds, some of it already worked up into cycles of narrative. He believes that on the whole the Pentateuch has been the literary creation of one man—with assistance from helpers—composed with a definite plan and design. Yet he admits that it is the result of a complicated literary process and—what is much more surprising—that after Ezra many insertions were made, including the whole chronological scheme of Genesis and not a few chapters, and that innumerable glosses were inserted and detailed alterations were made. It will be clear that any appeal to Löhr as a champion of tradition would be quite illegitimate. He regards Eerdmans as his truest predecessor, but confesses a special debt to Dahse and Wiener which, we are afraid, is not likely to predispose critical readers to anticipate very sound results from his investigation. On Deuteronomy he is more conservative, regarding the law of centralisation as Mosaic and attributing to Moses also certain portions of the legislation.

In this connexion it may be of interest to refer to Dr. A. E. Cowley's discussion of the bearing of the Elephantine papyri on our question. In his standard edition of the documents, entitled "The Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C." (1923), he has an important statement on the origin of the Pentateuch (pp. xxv-xxviii). It will be remembered that a reaction from critical results had been anticipated from the evidence supplied by these papyri. Special stress

¹ Max Löhr, *Der Priestercode in der Genesis* (1924).

has been put on the linguistic argument they supply for the early date of Daniel.¹ On this aspect of the subject Dr. Cowley does not dwell. But he emphasises the apparent ignorance of the Pentateuch which the documents betray ; and he infers that this ignorance was shared by the Jews in Judæa up to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem. He believes that documents, undoubtedly written in cuneiform and probably in the Babylonian language, existed from early times and eventually formed part of the Torah. They were unknown to the masses of the people and later still the prophets made little reference to a written law or the early history. In the time of Nehemiah we find the complete law in existence. Presumably it did not exist in its present form till Ezra drew it up. With the assistance of his colleagues he arranged the cuneiform tablets containing the various sources, translated them into Hebrew, welded them into a more or less consistent whole, and wrote down the result in the simple Aramaic alphabet. It had to be represented as originally revealed to Israel by Moses, and therefore its novelty could not be admitted. Possibly it was not new. "Various documents," he says, "of different dates, must or may have been in existence, from which the complete work was produced very much in the manner on which modern criticism insists—only that previously the documents had not been generally accepted, and that the final reaction took place at one definite time, and not as a gradual and rather undefined process" (p. xxviii). On one important issue he makes the radical suggestion that the house of Aaron may have been a late post-exilic invention. It will be clear from all this, as well as from other views

¹ In the eighth edition of his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (1909), pp. 514 f., Driver dealt with the bearing of the Aramaic papyri on the date of Daniel, supplementing what he had said on pp. 502-504. I may add that in the ninth edition (1913), Addenda, pp. xxxiv-xxxviii, he replies to the strictures made by Dr. R. D. Wilson on the treatment of the Aramaic of Daniel in the eighth edition. It is an example of the strange carelessness with which these subjects are sometimes discussed that in a paper read before the Victoria Institute Dr. St. Clair Tisdall should refer to no later discussion by Dr. Driver than his *Commentary on Daniel* (1900) and the fifth edition of the *Introduction* (1894), and proceed to say that much water had since flowed under the bridges. It had, indeed ; but it is very strange that it never occurred to him to enquire whether Dr. Driver had taken account of it, although his sixth edition (1897) had been greatly revised, the eighth edition had been considerably revised, and in it and the ninth edition the bearing of the newly-discovered Aramaic papyri had received careful attention.

expressed, that one of the foremost living authorities on the papyri considers that their evidence favours a rather radical construction of the history of the Law which, while it is quite independent, goes very much on the lines which modern criticism has followed.

From the Pentateuch I turn to the Prophetic Literature. To make the present position plain it will be necessary to go back several decades. If we take the names of the great critics from a point about a hundred years ago and coming down half a century—I think especially of Gesenius, Ewald, Hitzig, Dillmann—certain results were generally accepted. The last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah were attributed to a prophet writing during the Babylonian Exile; and it was recognised that related sections in the former part of the book belonged to the same period. The work of Zechariah, the contemporary of Haggai, was believed to close with the eighth chapter. Other passages might be denied to the authors whose names they bore; but in the main the general attitude on the other prophetic books was conservative. In the eighties a forward movement could be clearly detected, specially associated in Great Britain with the name of Cheyne, in Germany with the name of Stade. 1892 marked the opening of a new era. It was in this year that Duhm's *Isaiah* and Wellhausen's *Minor Prophets* were published. I speak more especially of the former because it represented new developments in a radical direction. In the former part of *Isaiah* he denied to Isaiah prophecies which had previously been attributed to him; in prophecies which he did not deny to Isaiah he frequently detected later insertions or additions—especially happy endings; and he relegated quite a considerable part of Isaiah i.-xxxv. to the Maccabean period. In the treatment of the last twenty-seven chapters various scholars, notably Cheyne, had recognised that a considerable proportion had to be credited to a writer or writers later than the Second Isaiah. Duhm divided these chapters between two prophets, the work of the Second Isaiah closing with chapter lv., while chapters lvi.-lxvi. were attributed to a writer whom he designated Trito-Isaiah. The restriction of the Second Isaiah's work to xl.-lv. has met with very wide acceptance; but several scholars decline to believe that chapters lvi.-lxvi. can be the work of a single author. Within the chapters attributed to the Second Isaiah Duhm isolated four passages commonly called the Servant poems, which he regarded as the work of a later author.

This delimitation of the Servant poems has also met with very wide acceptance, even among the scholars who take an entirely different view of the Servant from that advocated by Duhm. In his massive *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* (1894) Cheyne largely agreed with Duhm's results except that he refused to accept his Maccabean datings. In Marti (1900) Duhm found a zealous supporter, except that he carried out Duhm's principles in an even more drastic way.

The problems of the Book of Jeremiah are quite different from those presented by the Book of Isaiah. Anyone who has worked through Graf's Commentary on Jeremiah (1862) will have been struck by the unbending conservatism of his treatment, which is specially striking in view of the association of his name with what for long seemed the extreme of radicalism in the criticism of the Pentateuch. Giesebrecht (1894) pointed the way to a more critical handling of the book. Professor N. Schmidt, of Cornell, outlined a criticism of unexampled ruthlessness in his article on Jeremiah in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. Duhm's Commentary on Jeremiah (1901) exhibited his qualities on their weak as well as their strong side in a remarkable degree. Whether in other respects he reaches the angelic ideal need not be discussed, but beyond almost all our Old Testament scholars he has had the gift of troubling the stagnant waters. And where a Biblical writer is fortunate enough to secure his approval, one can rely on an exceptionally fresh, penetrating, and stimulating interpretation. But while Duhm had a singular insight into the personality of Jeremiah and depicted it with exceptional sympathy, he was limited even here, and perhaps still more in his estimate of the prophet's message, by his arbitrary hypercriticism. He restricted his authentic prophecies to those which were written in the so-called Qinah rhythm and thus regarded only 268 couplets as his genuine work. It is antecedently improbable that Jeremiah should have uttered no prophecies in prose; but even if this could be conceded to Duhm, it is improbable in the last degree that a poet so gifted as Jeremiah should, through his whole career of forty years, have limited himself to one rhythm. The most serious blot on his Commentary was his acceptance of the opinion previously put forward by Stade and Smend, that the prophecy on the New Covenant was no part of the prophet's message. In this respect his position was successfully assailed in the masterly commentary of Cornill (1905) in which the authenticity of this striking

anticipation of the Gospel was triumphantly vindicated. Cornill himself belonged, with certain reservations, to the advanced wing of critics ; but his commentary on Jeremiah was characterised by sobriety of criticism as well as by its power of sympathetic appreciation.

In his notable work on the Prophets (1914) Holscher advanced to a position analogous to that of Professor N. Schmidt. While Duhm had left the prophet in possession of those poems which are now often spoken of as the "Confessions of Jeremiah," Holscher regarded them as later insertions. He thus immeasurably impoverished our material for the characterisation of Jeremiah. He leaves us with a sadly shrunken figure and greatly dwarfs his significance for Israel's religion.

I might add a reference to the bearing of this on the problem of the Pentateuch. While Holscher went far beyond Duhm in his drastic reduction of the authentic utterances of Jeremiah, he considered that Duhm's results were sufficient to destroy the basis of the argument for the generally accepted date of Deuteronomy. Although I am very conscious that the problem of the relation between Deuteronomy and the Book of Jeremiah is one not easily solved, and recognise that the Deuteronomic affinities are most clearly marked in the later additions to the book, I am even more firmly convinced that Duhm's criticism is the element of least permanent value in his Commentary and should regard any radical inference from it as insecure in the last degree.

The Book of Ezekiel was for long regarded as the one impregnable rock in the prophetic literature, against which the waves of a disintegrating criticism would beat in vain. That matters are not quite so simple has been for some time recognised ; but the authenticity of the book in the main has been generally admitted. It was clear from Holscher's discussion in his volume on the Prophets that he had detected not a little spurious matter in the book. He has since reached much more definite and more revolutionary results. He rejects, it is true, the suggestions which have occasionally been made that the book is completely spurious ; yet he says that in its present form it is essentially a later pseudepigraphon. Its first draft was written between the composition of Deuteronomy (about 500) and Nehemiah (445), and after that date it received many additions from later hands. The original author incorporated Ezekiel's literary remains, which formed only a small proportion of the work and had,

in addition, been drastically worked over.¹ It is quite impossible for me to discuss an issue of this kind, depending so much on detailed analysis of the text. The future will show how much or how little of this destructive criticism will commend itself to Old Testament scholars. I cannot myself anticipate that such sweeping reductions of Ezekiel's authentic prophecies will be accepted, though it does not seem likely that the long-established opinion as to the complete authenticity of the book will be maintained in its former rigour. So far as the relation to the criticism of the Pentateuch is concerned, it is naturally the last nine chapters, with their sketch of the organisation of the restored community, that come into consideration. And here the case is perhaps clearest for a revision of the older attitude. It is noteworthy that in his commentary on Ezekiel (1924) Johannes Herrmann declines from want of space to discuss the relation of this section to the Pentateuch; but in view of the probably composite character of the section he adds that the material can be used for this purpose only with the greatest caution and that the problems of Pentateuch criticism are less settled than ever (P. xxxiii.). It should, of course, be remembered that Hölscher regards the post-exilic date of P as convincingly proved by Wellhausen.²

In view of all this revolutionary scepticism, I welcome Hölscher's firm opposition to second-century datings for a considerable section of the prophets. He adds, "I believe that a date in the Hellenistic period cannot really be proved for one single section in the prophetic literature."³ I have perhaps devoted more space to Hölscher's hypercriticism than its intrinsic value may seem to justify. But it is bound to receive serious and thorough discussion; and even where solutions may be entirely unacceptable the resolute search for difficulties and the sharp formulation of new problems provide an incentive to a renewed scrutiny of positions which have perhaps been lazily accepted as axiomatic. If Hölscher's work is all too meagre as nourishment, it is exceptionally rich in stimulus. In his repudiation of the second century dates for large sections of the prophetic literature he is in line with what I take to be the attitude at present dominant among critics, though there are notable exceptions. Few who have worked at the

¹ *Hesekiel: Der Dichter und das Buch* (1924).

² *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, p. 142, note 1.

³ *I.c.*, p. 159.

prophets will doubt that there have been numerous insertions in their writings, designed to enhance their utility for edification and adjust them to the conditions and problems of a time later than their own. But it is illegitimate to detect later insertions as an inference from far-reaching principles, such as that passages eschatological in character must necessarily be late. If the closing passage of *Amos* is judged to be a later appendix to the book it is not because it is eschatological, but because it so completely contradicts the prophet's anticipations of the future. The last chapter of *Hosea* seems to me to be in general harmony with the prophet's standpoint and I see no solid reason for treating it as a later addition. *Joel* is now regarded by almost all scholars as post-exilic, and there is a growing tendency to analyse it and assign it to two distinct authors. On the other prophets I must not linger.

In the Hebrew Canon the Book of Daniel is not included among the prophets; it is found in the third collection, technically known as "the Writings." The explanation of this is probably that when the canon of the prophets was closed the Book of Daniel had not yet been written. There are scholars who still uphold the traditional view; but the main body of critics is solid in accepting its Maccabean date. There is a growing tendency, however, to regard the book as composite and to date the historical narratives considerably earlier than the apocalyptic visions. Eduard Meyer¹ believes that the book has been compiled out of very varied materials and has a fairly long history behind it. He alleges the presence of doublets both in the narrative and the prophetic sections. He regards the book as dependent on Persian sources. It has been generally supposed that the four beasts are to be identified with the four empires which the author believed to have covered the period from the fall of the Jewish monarchy—the Chaldean, Median, Persian, and Greek Empires. This identification, it is true, involves a historical inaccuracy; and Meyer argues that it must be set aside. The four beasts were borrowed from the apocalyptic tradition and are not a symbolic representation starting from the historical phenomena of the period covered by the vision. It is not probable that the interpreters of *Daniel* will follow him in this opinion. But I refer to it because it raises the larger question as to

¹ *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (1921-1923), Vol. II., pp. 184-189.

the interpretation of apocalyptic symbolism. If the author started from history and related what he took to be the actual facts in the figurative language of Apocalyptic, then we are justified in seeking to retranslate his imagery into historical narrative. But where he is starting from an ancient apocalyptic tradition, we are obviously not entitled to assume that he is seeking to convey historical narrative through this bizarre symbolism. He feels himself to be entrusted with a sacred mystery which it is his first duty to transmit. He has then to interpret it; and since it is the fixed conviction of apocalyptists that the crisis is near, he must adjust his interpretation to the conditions of his own time. He may, indeed, include a minute sketch of events near to his own day as we find that the Book of Daniel has done. But periods more remote can be treated without the same regard for exact correspondence with history as to which, indeed, the author might be much less fully informed. The question emerges on a larger scale in the Book of Revelation, the secret of which cannot be solved by following any one of the different methods which have been applied to it to the exclusion of the rest. We cannot regard it as merely a reflection of contemporary history and a forecast of the immediate future; nor find the key to its problems simply in the view that the book has been put together from sources of different date; nor yet conclude that the author has drawn merely on ancient apocalyptic tradition. These lines of approach have all to be followed if we are to reach our solution. It is not so clear in the case of the Book of Daniel as in that of the Book of Revelation that we must reckon with a combination of documents dating from different periods; but presumably some influence of the apocalyptic tradition must be recognised, and certainly the attempt to cast history into a symbolic form.

It has been widely held by critics that little or nothing in the Psalter dates from the period before the destruction of Jerusalem. It was indeed regarded by many as composed almost entirely after the return from captivity. A certain number of the Psalms were believed to belong to the period of the Maccabean struggle. Some assigned a large part of the Psalter to this period. Duhm¹ went even further and dated some Psalms in the first century B.C. He regarded a

¹ *Die Psalmen* (1899) in *Kurzer Hand-commentar zum Alten Testament* edited by Karl Marti.

number of these Psalms as party songs—we might almost say lampoons—directed by Pharisees or Sadducees against the members of the rival school. There is a marked reaction not simply against Duhm's extravagant dating but also against the more widely-spread opinion that no pre-exilic psalms are preserved in the Psalter. It is probable that in the main the opinion would still be held that the Psalter is the product of post-exilic religion. But the presence of a not inconsiderable pre-exilic element would be widely recognised. The question whether any of the Psalms may be traced back to David is interesting rather than important. David was not only a musician but a highly-gifted poet, as his elegy on Saul and Jonathan demonstrates. And presumably he used his talents in the service of Yahweh before whom, king though he was, he danced with a corybantic enthusiasm and a disregard for decorum which shocked the more fastidious Michal (2 Sam. vi. 14-23). And there must have been some foundation for the tradition which associated his name with the authorship of psalms. We cannot, however, argue from the probability that David was a psalmist to the conclusion that any of his compositions are preserved in our Psalter. That some Davidic Psalms are included especially in the early Books is not at all unlikely, but they cannot be identified with certainty. They are also probably few in number. The type of psalm we should expect a man like David to write would as a rule probably be too crude for inclusion in the final collection. No sound reason can be assigned why sacred poems, composed in the period of the great prophets, should not have been worthy of inclusion in the Psalter. It is, of course, not improbable that pre-exilic hymns frequently underwent revision in the later period to render them more congenial to the ideas and the piety of the community and more appropriate to the worship in the Second Temple.¹

I have touched on the outstanding problems in Old Testament criticism, and I need not deal with the remaining books. The net result

¹Two recent volumes on the Psalms may be mentioned here: *The Psalter in Life, Worship, and History* by A. C. Welch (1926), and *The Psalmists* (1926) edited by D. C. Simpson. The latter volume contains essays on their religious experience and teaching, their social background, and their place in the development of Hebrew Psalmody by Hugo Gressmann, H. Wheeler Robinson, T. H. Robinson, G. R. Driver, and A. M. Blackman.

of the recent critical movement, it seems to me, is that we are left in the main very much where we were a quarter of a century ago. Reactionary and radical conclusions have still their representatives, new theories make their appearance from time to time. They probably contain their elements of truth and necessitate minor readjustments. I believe that critics will tend steadily to retreat from the extravagances of criticism represented by such names as Duhm, Marti, and Hölscher. But I am disinclined to anticipate that we shall see any great movement in the direction of reclaiming Deuteronomy for the pre-prophetic period, to say nothing of the Priestly Document. The relative dating of the codes advocated by the Grafians will, I am convinced remain, and the absolute dating will also, I think, not be seriously altered. And in the other departments of Old Testament Criticism I anticipate a similar maintenance of what I may call a central position.

It may seem as if all the labour spent on critical investigations is largely wasted. Even if greater unanimity could be secured and so much had not to be left in uncertainty, it might be argued that problems of this kind are remote from our spiritual life and that their solution will contribute little of religious or moral interest. But the very nature of Scripture renders the critical study of it imperative. Careful examination would soon convince us that the revelation enshrined in the Old Testament has been disclosed through a slow historical process. History has been the chosen medium for the Divine self-unveiling and self-communication. But this means that we must know the history if we are to disengage the revelation. It was given not all at once but slowly through a development which stretched over centuries. And as it attained its higher reaches it found its congenial vehicle, no longer in the nations as a whole, but in the experience of individuals gifted with religious genius, men of rare insight into the Divine nature and the Divine purpose and sensitive to the delicate leading of the Spirit. We must, so far as we can, place the historical movements and the great personalities in their correct order and their actual setting. But this can be done only as criticism arranges the documents themselves in their true order and enables us to follow the movement from point to point. Old Testament criticism for its own sake would have its intellectual interest as the unravelling of a tangled skein ; but if that were all it would assuredly not repay the colossal labour which has been lavished upon it. It is because it is the indispensable preliminary

to the reconstruction of the history, which in its turn can alone enable us to follow the movement of revelation from its lowly origins to its supernatural heights, that the literary criticism of the Hebrew Scriptures is completely justified by its works.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Many of the most important works have been mentioned in the Lecture and the Notes. I desire specially to recommend as covering the ground, though in a different way, the very instructive article, "The Present Position of Old Testament Criticism" contributed to *The People and the Book* (1925) by Professor J. E. McFadyen. The position as it existed nearly a quarter of a century ago was sketched in my lecture, "The Present Movement of Biblical Science," published in *Inaugural Lectures Delivered by Members of the Faculty of Theology* (Manchester, 1905). A comparison with the present lecture would, I think, prove reassuring to those who are tempted to doubt the stability of the central position in Old Testament criticism.

For the history of criticism the following may be recommended: T. K. Cheyne, *The Founders of Old Testament Criticism* (1893); J. Estlin Carpenter, *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century* (1903). On the history of the criticism of the Pentateuch (or Hexateuch), A. Westphal, *Les Sources du Pentateuque* (1888); W. E. Addis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch* (1892-1898); H. Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (1893); J. E. Carpenter, *The Composition of the Hexateuch* (1902).

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More elaborate bibliographies are given in *Peake's Commentary* (1919) and *The People and the Book* (1925), and in *A Scripture Bibliography* (prepared by a Committee of the Society for Old Testament Study and published by Nisbet and Co.). Extensive and valuable bibliographies are given in Mr. N. H. Baynes' excellent volume, *Israel among the Nations* (1927).

THE CONTEMPORARY CULT OF KINGS OF THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR.

BY THE REVEREND T. FISH, Ph.D.

THE five kings of the third dynasty of Ur were Ur Nammu, Dungi, Bur Sin, Gimil Sin, and Ibi Sin. According to contemporary evidence, each of these kings was honoured as a deity during the years of that dynasty. That contemporary evidence is found on the cuneiform tablets from Lagash, Umma, Ur, Drehem and Nippur.

In the last number of the BULLETIN,* an effort was made to set forth the evidence of those tablets in the matter of the cult of Dungi, the second king of Ur III. The present pages consider the evidence of the contemporary cult of Ur Nammu, the predecessor, and Bur Sin, Gimil Sin, and Ibi Sin, the successors of Dungi.

The method followed is the method of the previous effort : matter is arranged with special attention to place and date.

The Cult of Ur ^dNammu (i.e. ENGUR).

There is evidence of the cult of this king on the tablets from Lagash, Drehem, and Umma.

From Lagash, 4 tablets. None of these can with certainty be dated in the reign of Ur Nammu because none of the tablets bears a clear date. One mentions "*ésh-ésh ù sá-dû(g) Ur ^dNammu*," i.e., possibly, feast (or festive offerings) and regular offerings to Ur Nammu.¹ The other three are all in reference to "the place of libation of Ur Nammu" (*ki-a-nag Ur ^dNammu*).²

* The final paragraph of the previous article contains the following statement : "it is not certain that he (Dungi) was so honoured at Ur and Nippur." That statement is false. It is certain that Dungi was honoured as divine at Ur ; see the evidence in the article and, in summary, in the sentence immediately preceding the statement referred to here. It is also certain that Dungi was so honoured at Nippur, because of Nies UDT 177, which mentions the throne of Dungi at Nippur ; date either D. 40, or, more probably, B.S. 6.

Drehem texts are more varied in matter and more precise in date and place. Two tablets record that on the 29th day of the month of the barley harvest (*she-gur-kud*) in the 8th year of Bur Sin,³ and on the 22nd day of the month of the great feast (*ezen-mah*) in the 1st year of Gimil Sin,⁴ offerings were made to the throne of Ur Nammu (*gish-gu-za Ur^dNammu*).

The former offering is located in Ur (*sha(g) Urⁱki-ma*). In the same city Ur, offerings were made for the "place of libation of Ur Nammu." Of the three tablets which record this fact, two were already known; ⁵ they are dated "*ud-13, itu á-ki-ti, lbi Sin I,*" and *ud-3, itu ezen-mah, mu en^dInnina Unu(g)^{ki}-ga másh-e-ni-pa(d)*. The third belongs to the John Rylands collection, and is here published for the first time : J.R., 174.

Obv. 1 sil-she,	1 fat sheep,
ki-a-nag Ur ^d Nammu,	the place of libation of Ur Nammu.
Na-ra-am-i-li mashkim,	Naramili the mashkim,
itu ud-22-ba-zal,	
Rev. ki-Na-lul-ta,	from Na lul
ba-zi(g),	exported
itu ū-ne-kú,	the month ū-ne-kú,
Mu ^d Bur ^d Sin lugal	the year in which Bur Sin became King.

It is interesting to note that according to Drehem evidence, Ur Nammu was honoured in the first year of the reigns Bur Sin, Gimil Sin, and lbi Sin. This may be mere chance, or it may be an indication of a sense of debt to, and duty to honour the memory of, the founder of the dynasty to which these kings, his successors belong.

An Umma text in the Berlin Museum, mentions a temple of Ur Nammu, in which his grandson, Bur Sin, was honoured : 120 bundles of reeds (*sa-gi*), as regular offerings to Bur Sin, in the temple of Ur Nammu (150 *sa-gi, sá-dú(g)^dBur-dSin, sha(g) é-Ur^dNammu*).⁶

This tablet is valuable for two reasons : (i) it is the only Umma tablet which refers to the cult of Ur Nammu, and (ii) it is the only record during this period, of a temple, or shrine, of Ur Nammu anywhere in the kingdom of Ur III.

Clearly, the evidence is somewhat small. This circumstance suggests that one may exaggerate the significance of the fact that in

evidence so far available, there is no mention of priests, religious officials, and festivals assigned to Ur Nammu.

The Cult of ^dBur ^dSin.

The cult of Bur Sin at Ur is, perhaps, indicated by an inscription of Bur Sin found at Ur. This refers to a statue of Bur Sin called "Bur Sin, the beloved of Ur," presumably erected in Ur itself.⁷ But the erection of a statue of a reigning king in the capital of his kingdom, does not, of itself, denote religious cult, much less divine honour. The god-sign occurs before the name Bur Sin in the first year of his reign.

At Lagash, a personal name ^dBur ^dSin ḥa-ma-ti, was in use in the sixth year of Bur Sin.⁸ Here the King had a temple, in connection with which we read of oxen,⁹ employees,¹⁰ slaves,¹¹ "gens."¹² This last reference is dated, in the 3rd year of Gimil Sin; the others are undated. Other tablets, also undated, mention a priest of Bur Sin¹³; "id ^dNin-gish-zī(d)-da-ni: 2 2/3 Nin-mar, 1 1/3 Bur Sin¹⁴; a votive gift to (? of) Bur Sin the king (*a-ru-a* ^dBur^dSin *lugal*)¹⁵; and oxen of (? for) Bur Sin.¹⁶

Not many Drehem texts refer to the cult of Bur Sin. In the seventh year of his reign, there is mention of nourishment of Bur Sin (*nig-ku* ^dBur ^dSin),¹⁷ but whether in any cult sense is doubtful. In the ninth and last year, ninth day of the second month, fat sheep were thrice offered in honour of his throne. To the same object, animals were offered in the next year, the first year of Gimil Sin, on the 22nd day of the month of the great feast.¹⁸ Umma texts are more numerous. There is frequent mention of regular offerings (*sá-dú(g)* ^dBur ^dSin): in his fifth year, no month, month *Dumu-zi* and month *muru(b)*; ¹⁹ in his 6th year in the months of *she-kar-ra-gál-la*, *é-itu-ash*, and *Dumu-zi*; ²⁰ in his seventh year, in the month *é-itu-ash*.²¹ Animals were offered to Shara-ki-anki, Dungi, and Bur Sin, in the month *é-itu-ash*, and the month *muru(b)* of Bur Sin 6; ²² and animals were offered to various deities including Bur Sin, in the month *muru(b)* of Bur Sin 7; the same text describes the offerings as "*ésh-ésh dingir-ri-ne*."²³ A text of the 6th year of Bur Sin records animals' food, to the god Shara, *ki-su-* ^dBur ^dSin, *itu ezen* ^dDungi.²⁴ In the last year of his reign, no month is named, offerings of barley to various deities including Bur Sin, are described as "*sá-dú(g)* *dingir-ri-ne*."²⁵ After his death, in the reign of Gimil Sin, or later, there is

the text quoted above, which records bundles of reeds as "*sá-dú(g)* ^d*Bur* ^d*Sin*, *sha (g)* *é-Ur* ^d*Nammu*," and more reeds as offerings for the *ki-a-nag* of Ur Nammu, Dungi, and Bur Sin.²⁶ Two tablets record offerings to Bur Sin, of animals in the first year of Ibi Sin, and one in the year *mu en* ^d*Innina unu(g)* ^{ki}-*ga másh-e-pa(d)*; all are dated in the month *pap-ú-e*.²⁷

An Umma text reads: 1 sheep, two ewes, sacrifices (*zur*) to ^dKal ^dBur ^dSin, in Nippur, the month of *Dumu-zi*, the 5th year of Bur Sin.²⁸

The Cult of Gimil Sin.

A Lagash tablet²⁹ records the construction of the *ki-gal* ("l'emplacement") of the statue of Gimil Sin, in the last year of Bur Sin, who, perhaps, had died earlier in the year. It would seem that the statue of Gimil Sin had its own temple or shrine: "*é-alan* ^d*Gimil* ^d*Sin*";³⁰ also that there was a statue of Gimil Sin in the temple of Ningirsu and in the temple of Bau.³¹ The same texts record offerings in honour of Gimil Sin's statue, and festively, on an undated text: *ésh-ésh-alan-* ^d*Gimil* ^d*Sin*,³² in the month of the feast of Bau; and very naturally then, because there was a statue of Gimil Sin in the temple of Bau.³³ But not always then, for another tablet dates offerings on the 3rd of the month of the feast of Dungi, in the 3rd year of Gimil Sin.³⁴

From this it is clear that though offerings were made in honour of Gimil Sin on the day of the new moon and on the 15th day,³⁵ they were not confined to those occasions, or to times connected with the moon cult. One undated tablet refers to a "going" of the statue of Gimil Sin to NE.DU.HU.NI.³⁶

According to Lagash tablets there was a temple of Gimil Sin, in connection with which we read of: "4 gateaux de 3 *ka* de figues, le temple de Gimil Sin," in the 4th year of Gimil Sin;³⁷ a farmer, 6th year of Gimil Sin;³⁸ clothing, 8th year of Gimil Sin;³⁹ and, on an undated tablet, fats.⁴⁰

The evidence of the Umma tablets is slight but valuable. These, too, speak of a statue of Gimil Sin, in the 2nd year of his reign.⁴¹ A list of offerings of animals to thirteen gods, headed by Shara; all receive offerings once, except Gimil Sin, who receives offerings twice (*a-rá 2-kam*); Gimil Sin closes the list which concludes with this summary:

in all, 6 fat sheep, 2 lambs, 4 kids, festal offerings in the sacrifices of the gods (*ésh-ésh nig gish-tag-ga dingir-ri-ne*) in the month *pap-ú-e*, the 9th year of Gimil Sin.⁴²

Like Ur Nammu, Dungi, and Bur Sin, Gimil Sin has his place of libation. Thus, "80 bundles of reeds, for the new moon (in) the temple of the fifteenth day, the place of libation of Gimil Sin (*ud-sar é-ud-15, ki-a-nag^d Gimil^d Sin*). This tablet (G.D.D., 465, see above), is not dated, but it is perhaps after his death. Offerings to him after his death are dated in the 1st year of Ibi Sin and in the year *mu en-^d Innina unu(g)^{ki} másh-e-ni-pa(d)*; each in the month *pap-ú-e*.⁴³

Drehem texts refer to a feast of Gimil-Sin: oxen to Enlil and Ninlil, on the feast *ezen DAG. ZA. GUL. a-na(d)^d Gimil^d Sin*, the 6th day of the intercalary month "*dirig ezen me-ki-gal*," the third year of Gimil Sin.⁴⁴ The same text records that on the 39th (!) day of the same month, oxen were expended as "food of the feast of Gimil Sin." In the next year 1 fat sheep, the gift of, or for, Gimil Sin of, or, less likely, to the temple of Enlil (*nig-ba^d Gimil^d Sin é-^d Enlil-lá*) *itu mash-dū-kú*.⁴⁵

After his death honour is paid to his throne, on the 16th day of the month of the great feast, in the first year of Ibi Sin.⁴⁶

At Ur, according to two Drehem texts,⁴⁷ Gimil Sin was honoured in the month *ezen-mah*, G.S., 9, and in the month of *akiti*, the first year of Ibi Sin, under the title "beloved of Nanna(r)," a title used by him on an inscription found at Ur.⁴⁸ The cult at Ur seems, on one occasion, to have been at the same time as moon festivities there: offerings to Nanna(r), Gimil Sin, Allatum, and Meslamtæa, the lady and lord of the inferno; these offerings are described as "*nig-kú bi(1)-bi(1)-gar, á ud-temen-na*" (i.e., perhaps nourishment offered at evening), on the 9th day, month of the great feast, the 9th year of Gimil Sin.⁴⁹ At HA.A^{ki} (i.e. Subaru), too, Gimil Sin was worshipped, but under the simple title Gimil Sin, in the temple of Ninsun, in the month *akiti*, the 1st year of Ibi Sin, and in the month of the great feast, *mu en-^d Innina unu(g)^{ki} másh-e-ni-pa(d)*.⁵⁰

The Cult of Ibi Sin.

There are comparatively few records dated in the reign of Ibi Sin. A tablet found at Drehem,⁵¹ reads "*ud^d I-bí^d Sin shu-ba-an-ti-a*."

This tablet is dated in the last year of Gimil Sin, the predecessor of Ibi Sin. But already the divine prefix is written before Ibi Sin's name. Was Gimil Sin already dead?

A word may be added here, by way of summary, concerning the use of the names of the kings of Ur III. in the contemporary calendar.

The name of Ur Nammu does not occur in any month name of any calendar of this period, on the tablets published up to date.

The other kings of the dynasty were more fortunate. Months occur by name :—

“Month-of-the-feast-of Dungi, Bur Sin, Gimil Sin, Ibi Sin.”

“The month of the feast of Dungi” occurs in the calendars in use at Lagash, Umma, and Drehem. Lack of evidence makes it impossible to define the precise year when this month name was first introduced into the respective calendars. But it is certain that once introduced, it kept its place in the calendars during all the years of which we have evidence, i.e. from about the middle years of the 46 years of Dungi to the reign of Ibi Sin, the last king of the dynasty.

An Umma text is dated ‘month of the feast of Bur Sin,’ in the 8th year of Bur Sin.⁵² This month name does not occur on Lagash or Drehem texts.

Another Umma text refers to a feast of Bur Sin. The tablet is not dated.⁵³

The “month of the feast of Gimil Sin” occurs in the Drehem calendar only. This month appears for the first time in the Drehem calendar in the 3rd year of Gimil Sin.⁵⁴ It took the place of the “*itu shu-esh-sha*,” the 8th month, and so followed immediately on the month of the feast of Dungi, which was the 7th month at Drehem. It remained in use certainly during the first year of Ibi Sin.⁵⁵ The month *shu-esh-sha* occurs for the last time in the second year of Gimil Sin.⁵⁶

The “month of the feast of Ibi Sin” occurs on an undated tablet.⁵⁷ As yet it is impossible to say more about it owing to lack of evidence.

The facts adduced above include all the evidence as far as I know it. The dates of the tablets which relate to cult of these kings are during and after the lifetime of the king to whom they refer. All evidence which relates to the cult of Ur Nammu is posthumous. Offerings described as “*sá-dú(g)*,” i.e. regular offerings, were made to

Bur Sin during his reign ; offerings were made to Gimil Sin's statue during his reign. But it would seem that cult connected with the place of libation (*ki-a-nag*) and the throne (*gish gu-za*) of Ur Nammu, Dungi, Bur Sin, and Gimil Sin was posthumous. Three texts adduced above need not challenge that statement. The one, recording offerings at the libation place of Dungi is dated in the last month of the last year of his reign ; the other which records offerings to the throne of Dungi, is dated in the last month of the last year of his reign ; the third records offerings to the throne of Bur Sin in the second month of the last year of his reign. It is significant that the year is the last year, in each instance. It seems reasonable to presume that the kings thus honoured were already dead. Certainly all other references to the like cult are after the death of the respective kings.

REFERENCES.

- ¹ RTC 314.
- ² CT VII., 13166 R8, 9; 17775, 10, 11; TU 173, 7, 8.
- ³ Nies UTD 92.
- ⁴ PSBA May, 1915: III., 5.
- ⁵ TD 5482 I., 5; 5514.
- ⁶ GDD 465, 9; (for GDD references, i.e. *Geschäftsurkunden aus Drehem und Djoha*, I thank Dr. N. Schneider of Luxemburg who has copied the Berlin texts.
- ⁷ SAK 198 d.
- ⁸ TU 151, I.
- ⁹ ITT II., 877.
- ¹⁰ *ib.* 970.
- ¹¹ UDT 41, 10.
- ¹² ITT II., 881.
- ¹³ *ib.* 847.
- ¹⁴ *ib.* 847.
- ¹⁵ RTC 399, III., 3.
- ¹⁶ CT I., 94, 10-16; 19 rev. 7; 20 rev. 5; 43 rev. 3; ITT III., 5196.
- ¹⁷ CT 32, plate 27, II., 14.
- ¹⁸ Nesbit, SRD XX.
- ¹⁹ GDD 337, 344; Proc. SBA, May, 1915, plate IV.
- ²⁰ PSBA, *ib.*, nos. V., VI., VII.
- ²¹ GDD 372.
- ²² Keiser 'Cun. Bullae,' 45, 44.
- ²³ GDD 369.
- ²⁴ *ib.*, 358.
- ²⁵ Keiser STD 260.
- ²⁶ GDD 465.

- ²⁷ Bodleian 146, 170; Bedale 51.
- ²⁸ GDD 345.
- ²⁹ ITT II., 795.
- ³⁰ ib. 3390.
- ³¹ ib. 793; 3256.
- ³² ib. III., 5271 rev.
- ³³ ib. II., 793.
- ³⁴ ib. III., 6258.
- ³⁵ ib. II., 793.
- ³⁶ RTC 390.
- ³⁷ ITT II., 793, 3256.
- ³⁸ TU 62.
- ³⁹ ITT III., 5401.
- ⁴⁰ ib. 4964.
- ⁴¹ TEO 5680 V., 21.
- ⁴² STD 272.
- ⁴³ Bod. 146, 170; Bedale 51.
- ⁴⁴ CT 32, plate 12, I.
- ⁴⁵ SA 211.
- ⁴⁶ TRU 358.
- ⁴⁷ JR 388; TD 5482, I, 7 13.
- ⁴⁸ SAK 202 (d) 5, 6.
- ⁴⁹ JR 388.
- ⁵⁰ TD 5482 III.; 5514.
- ⁵¹ Nies UTD 100, 19.
- ⁵² Keiser Cun. Bullae, 23, 19.
- ⁵³ Genouillac TEO 6040, VII., VIII.
- ⁵⁴ Dhorme SA 208; Genouillac Trouv. de Dreheim 68.
- ⁵⁵ Keiser STD 301.
- ⁵⁶ Legrain TRU 201; SRD XXI.
- ⁵⁷ Keiser STD 80.

STEPPING STONES TO THE ART OF TYPOGRAPHY.¹

BY THE EDITOR.

IT was customary, not many years ago, to speak of printing as an invention which, Minerva like, sprang up perfect from its birth in the middle of the fifteenth century, but it has come to be realized that like every other art, and like all the great discoveries of modern science, it had to pass through all the stages of an imperfect infancy and gradual growth before it could be carried to the full flower of its development, which was reached in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

The literal meaning of the term printing is making or taking an impression, and in the light of that definition we can push back the history of this art to the time when Nature herself was printing on the pliant rocks, in the various strata of the earth's crust, representations of animals and trees, which may be regarded as a life history entombed ages before human history began, or language was born.

It may be said, therefore, that the art of printing, in its broadest aspect, is as old as Creation, and that the world possessed books long before it knew how to produce them, and to multiply them by mechanical means.

These books of Nature were the seed germs from which our modern books have evolved. Primeval man, unconsciously, was following Nature's example, when, with a pointed flint flake or a sharpened bone he scratched pictures and symbols on the walls of his cave dwelling, or, later, when he had reached a more settled state of civilization he impressed symbols and characters upon tablets and cylinders of clay, upon slabs and obelisks of stone, or upon staves and planks of wood.

But there were several links in the chain of development before the actual stage of human record was reached. Language itself was of necessity a slow development, and equally slow was the next step, for speech existed some time before man discovered that the human voice,

¹ An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th February, 1927.

which informed the brain through the ear could be represented by a combination of marks and symbols, which produced the same result through the eye.

It was this stage in the development to which Aristotle referred when he said : " letters are marks of words just as words are marks of thoughts," and it was by means of this art of writing that the progress of the human race was assured.

Indeed, it may be regarded as the most important stage in the evolution of the art of printing, which has been variously described as the art of artificial, or rapid, or mechanical writing.

As we turn back the pages of history we find that in every age, as the demand for knowledge has grown, new methods for supplying it have been improvised. In the fifteenth century that growth was phenomenal, and it was found that the slow and tedious process of hand-copying, which had obtained for so long, was inadequate to meet it, so new and more rapid methods of production were developed, and slowly this mechanical writing was evolved.

In the whole history of book-production there is no more fascinating chapter than that which treats of the block-prints and block-books, which led up to that later development of the art known as typography, when movable or separate metal characters or types, which could be used again and again in a variety of combinations, were employed for the first time.

These stepping-stones to the type-printed book, which were the links connecting the manuscript method of book-production and the mechanical method of the typographer, consisted of single pictures, or collections of pictures, printed from carved or engraved slabs of wood and made up into books, which, for that reason, are described as block-prints or block-books as the case may be.

Not only were these block-prints the precursors of the type-printed book, they were, at the same time, the earliest European specimens of the wood-engraver's art, which is the art of cutting a design in relief on slabs or planks of wood in such a way that the raised parts of the original surface left standing on the block, when inked, will transfer the design to paper.

But the first definite steps towards the art of multiplying texts or pictures by these mechanical means, must be sought not in the western world but in the Near and Far East, where the ancients were employ-

ing engraved or carved stamps, seals and gems, with which to impress designs or letters upon some plastic material such as clay or wax, and from which, at a later period, they took inked impressions on papyrus, paper, and other materials, in the same way that we use a metal or rubber-stamp to-day.

As we pursue our investigations we shall discover that centuries before the western world had made acquaintance with any mechanical method of book-production, the Chinese had developed from the seal impressions the method of block-printing, which afterwards found its way into Europe, and had also evolved a system of typography.

Some authorities go back to the third millenium B.C. when the Sumerians, Babylonians, and Egyptians, and later the Greeks and the Romans, were employing seals and stamps to impress soft substances such as clay and wax with designs or characters with which to mark tablets, lamps, wine jars, and other vessels, either by way of authentication, or to indicate the names or initials of the potters, the owners, or the contents of the vessels.

SEAL IM-
PRESSION.

In Sumeria, at least as early as 2400 B.C., seals of the temple stewards, scribes, archivists, and other officials were employed for the authentication of documents which took the form of clay tablets in the great palace temples, and of which large quantities have come down to us.

The Sumerian and Babylonian seals, like the Egyptian examples, were of amethyst, jasper, steatite, rock-crystal, lapis-lazuli, and agate, which were cut in intaglio by expert seal engravers in various forms, either on their base or around their circumference, with an ornamental device or some brief inscription, so that when rolled over, or impressed in the clay, they would leave an impression in relief. Indeed, in the ruins of the ancient buildings of Babylonia and Assyria, and in Egypt to a lesser degree, there is scarcely a kiln-burned brick without an inscription stamped upon it. One of the actual wooden stamps, fitted with an arched handle, was recently discovered in a tomb at Thebes.

The greater number of the Egyptian seals were button-shaped, and were carved to represent the scarabæus beetle standing upon an elliptical base, the under side of which was engraved in intaglio with the device or inscription to be impressed. The beetle upon which they are modelled, and from which they take the name *scarab*, is said to have been taken as the emblem of Khepera, the father of the gods,

consequently the scarab seals had a sacred meaning attached to them. Some of the seals are of such minute delicacy that the fineness of the workmanship can only be appreciated by the aid of a magnifying glass. The scarab seal is still used as a signet ring.

The official cylindrical seals of Egypt bore either the name of the King together with the title of the office or official, or simply the title of the official, but never his personal name.

The great seals of State were as important in ancient Egypt as in this country, and it was only by the King bestowing his own seal or one of the great seals of state upon one of his subjects that he was able to delegate his authority. From about 2000 B.C. onwards the keeper of the royal seal is constantly referred to in inscriptions. He was chancellor of the exchequer, lord chancellor, and keeper of the privy purse.

In the Biblical account of Pharaoh and Joseph we read that "Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand . . . and made him ruler over all the land of Egypt." That ceremony is proved to be a true and genuine one by a number of inscriptions, one of which relates to the appointment by Tutankhamen, in 1350 B.C., of the Chancellor.

There were sealers attached to almost all the departments of the public service, as well as to all the religious institutions of the country.

Wealthy noblemen also had sealers in their household, whose duty it was to give out from the "sealed" store rooms the provisions and other private property required by the great man or his household. One important official of the early period was the sealer of the honey jar, honey being one of the greatest of all primitive luxuries.

The storehouses of the private people were probably in the charge of the housewife or some other woman of the household. She had her little string of seals for sealing the grain and other provisions, which was the counterpart of the modern bunch of keys.

The modern wedding ring has its origin in the custom, which prevailed in Egypt, of the man presenting to his wife on her marriage a seal or seals which she was to use for sealing up her store of provisions. At first, the seals were worn around the waist or neck, later they were secured to the finger by a piece of cord or wire, which ultimately developed into the signet ring. The seal was given to the bride upon entering her new home to signify that she was the mistress of

the house. Cicero refers to this seal as the key, and in England it has been customary, when a ring is not forthcoming at the marriage ceremony, to use instead the bow of the key of the chancel door.

The method of closing and sealing the granaries and other store-rooms was by means of wooden bolts, which after being shot into position, were tied up with cords, the ends of which were sealed, so that the receptacles could not be opened until the seal was broken. It was the duty of the sealer or the state official, who was charged with the keepership of the exchequer, which consisted for the most part of the granaries, to see that the seals were affixed overnight, and to satisfy himself that they were still intact in the morning.

The Greeks also had engraved gems of great beauty which were no doubt used as seals, as well as the stamps with which they stamped signs or initials on the handles of wine jars, lamps and other vessels of domestic use. Then there were the coins of Macedonia and of the Sasanian Empire of Persia which were stamped in a relief as bold as that of the best pieces of modern mints. We often speak of a coin as being a fine print in mint state.

The old Roman potters marked their manufactures with the name or initial of the owner, or of the contents of the vessel, therefore like the Greeks they were familiar with the use of movable types.

But the Romans went one step further than any of the other ancient peoples already referred to by smearing their stamps or seals with a coloured paint, which when impressed on papyrus, the common writing material of those days, left upon it a coloured impression or print.

It was the custom under the Roman Empire to imprint in red, in this manner, upon papyrus documents such as deeds of sale and similar instruments, a stamp bearing the name and regnal year of the Emperor, which was called a *charagma*, the same word is used in Rev. xiii. 16, where the beast causeth the inhabitants to assume his mark, which has been described as "the mark of the beast," "the stigmata," or "the protective mark."

In China during the Han Dynasty which covers the period (B.C. 206-220 A.D.) corresponding to the Roman Empire, the word *yin*, which to-day denotes seal and print, meant CHINESE
SEALS. to authenticate by the impression of a seal on clay. The word is defined in the Shuo-Wen : an encyclopædia compiled about

100 A.D. as : "everything that has fine marks to be impressed on something else."

The first state seal in China, of which there is any record, is that of Ts'ih Shih Huang (246-209 B.C.), which was a seal of jade called "the seal of inheritance of the Empire." Before the adoption of the seal in China, when the Emperor issued orders, he took a piece of jade or bamboo and broke it in half, handing one-half to the official to whom the order was given, retaining the other half himself, as a proof of the genuineness of the order. In like manner, when a patent of nobility was bestowed, the token was the half of a piece of jade, of which the other half was kept in the imperial possession.

The transition from the broken jade to the seal was a natural one, and may have been hastened by events which were taking place in another part of Asia. Just a hundred years before Ts'ih Shih Huang's conquests, Alexander the Great had conquered part of India, and had brought Greek culture to certain countries of Central Asia which were not far removed from the expanding borders of China, the country now called Chinese Turkestan. Evidences of this mingling of eastern and western influences were discovered by Sir Aurel Stein a few years ago in Turkestan, in the shape of a collection of documents bearing seals, the devices of which were in some cases Chinese characters, in others elephants and other Indian emblems, whilst in still others were to be found heads of Zeus, Eros, and Medusa.

With the adoption of the seal during the Han Dynasty the use of seals became steadily more common, and seal cutting came to be a fine art. The seal impressions at this time were made, like those of Sumeria and Europe, in a soft substance such as clay without any colouring matter. Later (618-907 A.D.) impressions were made not in clay, but in red ink or paint on paper, like the impressions of the Roman Imperial *charagma*.

These stamped seal impressions brought about the natural development of the block-print, and there is little doubt that the printing of textiles had a part in preparing the way for block-printing on paper. Whether in Asia or in Europe this printing on textiles formed a background which made the learning of the new art of printing on paper a comparative simple transition. It may have arisen from chance or because of a demand for paper with patterns printed on it for decorating walls, instead of the printed textiles used for hangings.

This practice of printing textiles in gold, silver, colour, or black is said to have been known in the East as early as the sixth century A.D. The dates assigned to European specimens, on the ground of style of drawing and the character of the ornaments employed, range from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. The wearing of *estampidos* was forbidden in 1234 by a sumptuary law of James I. of Spain. The process of printing these stuffs is described by Cennino Cennini in his treatise on painting, composed about 1437.

There is, however, a fundamental difference in the character of the prints on textiles, whether of silk or of cotton, and those on paper. The design on textiles were purely for ornamentation, whilst those on paper were objects of piety for edification. This is equally true whether in China, Japan, Central Asia, Egypt, or in Europe.

Before there could be any great development of block-printing, either in Europe or in the East, a plentiful supply of paper was necessary, and in Europe this could not well have been before the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Paper was one of the most complete of China's inventions, and it had been a fully-developed art for something like a thousand years before it set out upon its triumphal journey to the West. This westward movement prepared the way for printing, and its history is suggestive of the route by which knowledge of the art of printing travelled to us. Therefore, in order to discover the course which block-printing took, it is necessary to understand something of the history of paper.

INVENTION
OF PAPER.

In the dynastic records of China the date of the invention of paper is carefully recorded as 105 A.D. Ts'ai Lung is generally regarded as the inventor, and has been deified as the god of the paper makers.

In the history of the Han Dynasty, written about 470 A.D., it is stated that from the time of the invention it was used universally, and other authorities confirm the statement that its spread throughout China was very rapid. Indeed, papers of every kind, made of rags, fishing nets, hemp, plant fibres, etc., for writing, wrapping, and domestic purposes were in general use in China for a thousand years before we knew anything about it in the western world. Sir Aurel Stein, in 1904, discovered certain letters in Turkestan, in one of the ruined towers of the great wall, which were written within fifty years of the

date of the invention, upon what has proved under microscopic examination to be rag paper.

The perfected invention was passed on to the Arabs at Samarkand in the eighth century. It came about in this way : war broke out between two Turkish chieftains, in what is known as Chinese Turkestan, in 751 A.D. One of the two chieftains appealed to China for help and the other appealed to the Arabs. The Arabs succeeded in defeating the Chinese army and in driving them back, taking prisoners, among whom were some paper-makers, who taught the secret of the manufacture to their Arab captors, with the result that the manufacture grew and became for the people of Samarkand an important article of commerce.

In 793 A.D., a rival factory was set up at Baghdad, where Haraun al Rashid, of "Arabian Nights" fame, introduced Chinese workmen for the starting of a paper-making plant.

The next centre was Damascus, which for several centuries was the main source of supply for Europe. This paper came to be known as *charta Damascena*.

It would have been quite an easy matter for the secret of paper-making to pass from Damascus into Europe, but it took quite another course passing along the North of Africa and through Egypt, with the result that Egypt, early in the eighth century, adopted the manufacture, and it steadily displaced papyrus, which had been the common writing material on that continent for at least three thousand years.

From Egypt the manufacture passed to Morocco, at Fez, about 1100, and thence to Spain, which was its first appearance in Europe. For a century the manufacture remained in the hands of Saracens, though Christians seem gradually to have learned the art as the Christian conquest advanced.

The first recorded paper-mill in Christendom was set up in 1189 at Hérault, on the French side of the Pyrenees, although for still another century Europe's needs were largely supplied from the Saracen Mills of Damascus and Spain.

It may be said, therefore, that paper-making was a Chinese monopoly for the first six hundred years of its history, a monopoly which was only broken down by the conquering Arabs, who learned the secret from the Chinese prisoners at Samarkand. For the next five hundred

years it was an Arab monopoly in the West, until they in turn taught the art to their conquerors in Spain.

Meanwhile, paper was being imported into Europe by two other routes. Paper from Damascus was becoming an important article of commerce chiefly through Constantinople, and paper from Africa was entering through Sicily. It was probably by the latter route that the manufacture penetrated Italy in 1276, when the first mill was set up at Montefano. The manufacture spread rapidly, and in the fourteenth century Italy soon rivalled, and then outstripped, Spain and Damascus as the source of Europe's supply.

In Germany the use of paper increased steadily during the fourteenth century, but it was not of native manufacture being imported principally from Italy. Towards the end of the fourteenth century South Germany was receiving its supplies from Venice and Milan, and the Rhineland from France, although the supply from Damascus had not altogether ceased. Nuremberg was the first place in Germany to set up a mill, and that was not done until 1391.

England obtained her supplies from France, Italy, and Germany down to 1494, when the first mill was established at Hereford by John Tate.

It was the coming of paper that made the development of printing possible, and it was the development of printing that made the use of paper general.

As soon as Europe began to print, first from blocks and then from movable types, paper rapidly took its place as the principal material for writing as well as for printing, although the first paper mill in England was not set up until seventeen years after Caxton began to print in this country.

It is impossible to say with any degree of accuracy when the transition from clay and wax seal impressions to paper and ink impressions took place. This may be said, however, that the same impulse appears to have been behind these early examples of printing, whether in China, in Egypt, or in Europe. The languages were different, the religions were different, but they all represent the effort of the common man to get into his hands a bit of the sacred word, or a sacred picture, which he believed to possess supernatural power, but which he could not himself write or paint, and which he could not afford to buy unless

THE IM-
PULSE
BEHIND
EARLY
PRINTS.

reproduced for him by some less costly or laborious process. In all these countries printing was the same in its beginning, and it is possible that nothing would have been heard of block-printing if there had been no further development of the art.

In every advance that printing made in new territory its motive was the expansion of religion. From its beginnings in China down to the present day, there is scarcely a language or a country in which the first printing executed has not been from the sacred scriptures, or the sacred art of one of the world's great religions.

China began by printing Buddhist pictures and texts. Japan had been printing for six centuries before she produced or attempted to print anything but Buddhist sacred art. In Central Asia, down to the time of the Mongol conquest, the mass of printed literature consisted of Buddhist books. In Egypt the printing that was going on throughout the time of the Crusades consisted of verses of the Ku'rān and prayers. In Europe the block-printers produced biblical pictures, whilst Gutenberg's first important book was a Bible.

Turning back to China we find that the earliest block-printing of which we have clear proof consists of Buddhist charms, woodcuts, and books. It seems likely that the Taoists, in their desire for charms, developed the seal impression into something closely resembling a block-print, even earlier than the Buddhists. These Taoist charms consisted of seals several inches square inscribed with the name of Lao-tzū, or some other worthy.

These charm makers loved the red ink of cinnobar (red oxide of mercury mined in the province of Kweichow), and when it came into vogue for authenticating written imperial documents, there is reason to believe that they dipped their seals, made of datewood, in the red ink, and took impressions on paper.

Another form of printing, which seems to have been practised in China from the second century, consisted of inked rubbings or squeezes from stone inscriptions, which may have led the way to inked impressions from wood. The practice of cutting in stone the text of the six Confucian classics, in order to secure permanence and accuracy, goes back to the year 175 A.D. This corrected text of the canonical works of the sages, on engraved stones, was set up outside the gates of the state academy, so that scholars and students might have access to a standard text. It is

INKED
STONE
RUBBINGS.

supposed that the copies made were in the form of rubbings, in which case this form of printing goes back to the second century, but hitherto no proof of these early rubbings has been forthcoming.

These rubbings ultimately served as the model for the printing of the classics, but the earliest date which can be fixed with certainty is between 627 and 694 A.D., in the reign of T'ai Tsang, from whose reign one such rubbing survives.

It may be said, therefore, that the exact date at which true block-printing began is shrouded in mystery.

Hitherto, the first definite date accepted and handed down is contained in the statement made by Stanislaus Julian in 1847, on the authority of a Chinese encyclopædia, in which it is stated that: "under the Emperor Wên-ti of the Sui dynasty in the year 593 A.D., the 8th day of the 12th month it was decreed that all neglected pictures, images, and scattered texts were to be carved and collected. This is the beginning of printed books." This statement has found its way into almost every account of the beginnings of printing that has been written in European languages, but it is now called into question by Professor Carter and other authorities. Julian, it appears, was quoting from an encyclopædia printed in 1735, in which the statement is quoted from another authority of the sixteenth century, named Lu Shên, who in turn drew his information from another work written in the year 597 A.D., only four years after the event recorded. It is now pointed out that the last sentence: "This is the beginning of printed books" is not a quotation from the original authority, but an interpolated comment added by Lu Shên in the sixteenth century.

BLOCK-
PRINTING
IN CHINA.

The whole passage has since been submitted to a critical examination, which leaves little doubt that printing was not referred to at all, and that the true interpretation of the statement is that damaged images were recarved and the scattered sutras or texts were collected. In confirmation of this view several Chinese authorities are quoted, dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, who declare that: "Before the T'ang dynasty (618-907) all books were manuscript, the art of printing not being in existence." Another authority says: "There was no printing before the T'ang dynasty. Inked blocks were first used at I-chou at the end of the T'ang dynasty." Yet another authority states: "According to the popular report the cutting of blocks and printing of books from them was commenced by Fêng Tao (881-954).

The earliest well-defined block-print extant dates from 770 A.D., and comes from Japan. It is to the zeal for Buddhism of the Japanese Empress Shotoku that the world owes this first certain and clearly attested record of printing with wooden blocks on paper. This Empress who reigned with interruptions from 748 to 769 A.D., ordered the printing of one million charms, to be placed in one million tiny wooden pagodas, and it was sometime about the year 770 A.D. that the work was finished, and the charms distributed. These charms were in the Sanskrit language, but in Chinese character. They were deposited in various temples, where many of them still survive. Three of the charms (plate 1), measuring about eighteen inches long by two inches wide, are now in the possession of the British Museum.

THE EARLI-
EST BLOCK-
PRINT.

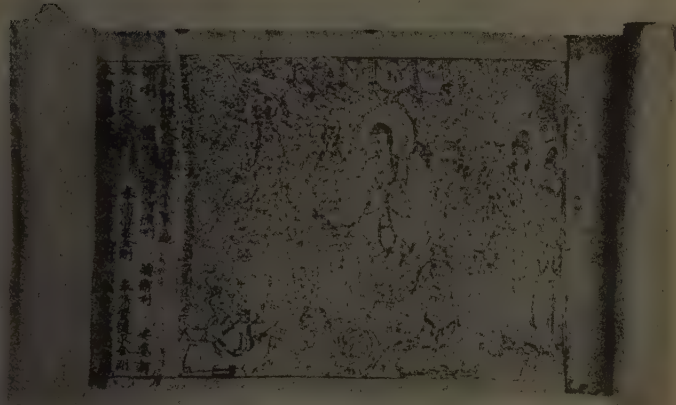
The earliest printed book extant comes from China, and is dated 868. It was found by Sir Aurel Stein in 1907 in Turkestan, and is known as "The Diamond Sutra," which is a section of the Buddhist Scriptures in roll form (plate 2). It consists of a number of discourses of Buddha to his aged disciple Subhuti; on the subject of the non-existence of all things. While it is taken up in the main by very abstruse teaching, the author has a very high opinion of the importance of the book he is writing. Again and again the Buddha is represented as describing to Subhuti the infinite merit and rewards to be gained by them who transcribe the book and thus spreads abroad its doctrine. The transcription of this sacred text became a favourite method of acquiring merit among Buddhists, and so it still remains. It is easy to imagine, says Dr. Carter, the pious delight of Wang Chien in the new invention which enabled him to transcribe not five copies, but a multitude of copies for free distribution, in order to do honour to his parents.

THE EARLI-
EST BLOCK-
BOOK.

The book consists of six sheets of text, each two and a half feet long by a foot broad, indicating the size of the blocks employed, and a shorter sheet with a woodcut of excellent technique and beauty, which is less crude than any of the early western block-prints. These sheets are pasted neatly together so as to form one continuous roll of sixteen feet in length. At the end, printed in the text, is the statement that the book was printed on May 11, 868, by Wang Chien, for general distribution, in order, in deep reverence, to perpetuate the memory of his mother.

Printed Buddhist charms in Chinese characters, approximately 770 A.D., from the British Museum collection.

Printed Buddhist charms in Chinese characters, approximately 770 A.D., from the British Museum collection.



1. —BUDDHIST CHARMS IN THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE BUT PRINTED IN CHINESE CHARACTERS, ABOUT 770 A.D., FROM THE COPIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
2. —"THE DIAMOND SUTRA," PRINTED IN CHINA BY WANG CHEN IN 868 A.D., FROM THE COPY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

With the early printers "The Diamond Sutra" was a favourite book, and the excellent technique of the woodcut shows that it is not a primitive bit of printing, but that there must have been a long evolution behind it, which, in reality, is not inconsistent with the acceptance of the Wên-ti date.

Hitherto, except for the rubbings or squeezes taken from the stone inscriptions of the Confucian classics, such block-printing as we have referred to was of Buddhist texts and pictures.

NON-
BUDDHIST
PRINTING.

The first non-Buddhist printing, in the form of a complete block-printed edition of the Nine Confucian Classics and their commentaries, in one hundred and thirty volumes, was presented to the Emperor in 953 A.D. The work of editing had been carried out at the National Academy, where the leading scholars of the Empire were gathered together to revise and establish the text of the classics. The prime mover in this project was Fêng Tao who was prime minister under four of what are known as the Five Dynasties, extending from 907 to 960 A.D. In 932 he presented to the reigning Emperor a memorial praying that the Confucian classics should be revised and cut in wood and published. It was not the new method of printing that Fêng Tao was interested in. That was a mere detail. His anxiety, and that of his associates, was to have the canon, and correct text of the classics, fixed for ever. The cutting on wood rather than on stone appears to have been a makeshift. The impoverished state having no money with which to have the text cut in stone, as previous dynasties had done, led them to adopt the cheaper method.

The work of editing and printing extended over twenty-one years, which were years of civil war, but the scholars entrusted with the work continued it quite unruffled by the storm that was beating around them, with the result that in the year 953 this great project was completed in one hundred and thirty volumes. The chief purpose of this scheme was not to make literature more accessible to the masses, but rather to authenticate the text. In this way the old idea of authentication clung to the word *yin*.

The progress of printing in China from this time was very rapid, and in confirmation of this statement it needs only to be pointed out that the whole of the Buddhist canon, usually known as the "Tripitaka," which consists of 1521 separate works in more than five thousand

volumes, covering 130,000 pages, requiring the cutting of 130,000 blocks was carried through as early as 972.

Thus for several hundred years before block-printing was known and practised in Europe all Eastern Asia was printing, and in many parts on a large scale.

Curiously enough, between the Far East that printed, and Europe where printing was unknown, lay the Moslem world that refused to spread its literature in printed form.

MOSLEM
NEGLECT
OF PRINT-
ING.

As we look back it appears singular that such a religious and literary people as the Arabs, whose culture so profoundly influenced Europe, should refuse to employ this valuable vehicle for the spreading abroad of their religious thought. With them paper, from its introduction in the eighth century, very soon displaced other writing materials, but printing was taboo. This was due no doubt to prejudice and conservatism. The Ku'rān rested upon written tradition and must be handed down in no other way. Whatever may be the reason the Ku'rān has never been printed in any Muhammadan country except by lithography.

It is said, that until 1825, when the first press was set up in Cairo, the Islamic world never printed a book, except for an abortive attempt made in Constantinople in 1729. This statement would have remained unchallenged but for the discovery in Egypt, in 1880, in the Fayuum, near the Crocodile City, of great quantities of fragments of papyrus, vellum, and paper, said to number a hundred thousand sheets. These documents are in ten languages and range in date from the fourteenth century B.C. to the fourteenth century A.D., and include some fifty examples of block-printing ranging, according to Ritter von Karabacek, from the tenth to the middle of the fourteenth century, consisting of prayers, texts from the Ku'rān and protective charms, some of which are decorated with a geometrical design or ornamentation, conforming to the Muhammadan prohibition against pictures. Here, then, was printing going on under a culture and religion that has always been known for its hostility to printing.

It was on account of this Islamic barrier that Mediæval Europe knew almost as little of China as it knew of America.

In the early part of the thirteenth century Jinghis Khan and his Mongol hordes broke through this barrier, and for a short time

Europe and China stood face to face. As a result, the contact between the Far East and Europe was far closer during the century between the middle thirteenth and the middle fourteenth than ever before, and probably closer than at any subsequent period down to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Almost the whole continent of Asia and much of European Russia was under the rule of the Mongols. Great highways were built, and armies mounted on fast horses were constantly passing to and fro, opening the way for trade.

It must not be supposed, however, that until the coming of the Mongols there was little or no communication between China and the Western World, for silk which was one ^{EAST AND WEST.} of the first, if not actually the first of China's great gifts to the West, was reaching Europe for some centuries before the Christian era.

Imperial Rome was in need of silk and China possessed it. This, no doubt, was the key to the development of the great caravan route that crossed Turkestan, Persia, and Syria and reached the Mediterranean at the ports of Phœnicia and Palestine. This was the great silk route, and it is not improbable that it was the route along which the art of printing made its way into Europe.

The first embassy from the West to China, of which we have any record, was in 166 A.D., when silk was the chief article of export from the Eastern empire. According to the Chinese annals these envoys were from the Emperor "An Tun," who has been identified with the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

The process of silk culture was kept a profound secret by the Chinese. By Roman writers silk was thought to be a vegetable product, and Vergil describes it as being combed from trees.

During the classical period silk passed into Rome in ever increasing quantities, and continued to pass into Constantinople after Rome had fallen. But the route through Persia was closed by the Sasanians in fear of the fast growing Turkish kingdom which was, at that time, first heard of in Western history. The Emperor Justinian (527-565 A.D.) tried to persuade the Persians to reopen the route, but failing in his endeavour, he entered into an alliance with the Khan of the Turks in 568, for the resumption of the silk trade. In the meantime, some Nestorian priests returning from the East had brought to

Justinian the astounding news that silk was not combed from trees, but was produced by caterpillars, whose eggs they believed they could obtain. With the Emperor's encouragement they proceeded to the Kingdom of Khotan, in Chinese Turkestan, where silk culture had been introduced in 419, by a Chinese princess. They obtained a supply of silkworms' eggs, and in order to avoid detection the eggs were hidden in the long bamboo staff carried by one of the priests. From these eggs, if the story told by the Greek historians Theophanes and Procopius can be credited, are descended all the silkworms reared in Europe down to the present time. But it was not until the Crusades that the art of silk culture became known in Western Europe. It was first introduced into Italy in the thirteenth century, and into France in the fourteenth century.

The question : "How did printing ultimately come into Europe ?" is still a matter of speculation. This, however, may be said, that by piecing together the various statements that have been handed down, and the circumstantial evidence which we find scattered up and down the records of travels and trade missions, we can arrive at a fairly accurate idea of how the influence of the block-printing of China entered Europe during the time of the Mongol Empire, and had its part in bringing about the use and development of that activity which in turn paved the way for Gutenberg's invention.

THE COM-
ING OF
PRINTING
INTO
EUROPE.

The earliest reference to Chinese printing, in European literature, is the statement made by Jovius in 1550, that it came into Europe from China by way of Russia. The one traveller in Central Asia and China to give such a clear account of his travels as to make a deep impression on Europe was Marco Polo. For this reason a great many things that have come from China to Europe have been credited to him, and block-printing is no exception. One story is told of a certain Pamfilio Castaldi of Feltre, a block-printer at the end of the fourteenth century, that he had learned his art from seeing some pieces of wood that Marco Polo brought back to Venice, which had served for printing books. But there is no evidence in support of the story. Marco Polo himself never mentions printing in his description of China.

In Europe, as in China, the motive or impulse behind printing seems to have been the same, the expansion of religion, and there is

little doubt that the first men in mediæval Europe to take an active interest in this method of multiplying by mechanical means the religious pictures, by the aid of which the Bible story was being conveyed to the illiterate, were members of the religious orders.

THE IM-
PULSE
BEHIND
PRINTING.

The first missionary sent by the Pope (Boniface VIII.) to China in 1294, was John of Monte Corvino, who, in 1305, sent home to Rome a report of his work, which among other things included the preparation of six pictures representing scenes from the Old and New Testament for the instruction of the ignorant, with explanations in Latin, Tarsic, and Persian. In 1307, the Pope raised John to the dignity of Archbishop, and sent three Franciscans with the rank of bishop to assist him.

These and other missionaries working in China must have come into contact with printed literature at every turn. Whether they were responsible in any way for the introduction of this art into Europe it is impossible to say, but it is at least significant that within the half-century after they had laid down their work religious prints began to appear in Europe.

Although there is no record to show that knowledge of the art of printing was brought from China in the wake of trade, it is not without significance that in the first half of the fourteenth century traders and travellers were constantly passing between Europe and China, and obviously in such numbers as to justify the preparation in 1340, by Pergalotti of Florence, of a handbook in the nature of a trade guide to the various ports of the world. That printing was being practised in Persia at this time is proved by the existence of printed paper money issued at Tabriz, the Mongol capital of that country, with whom the Venetians and the Genoese enjoyed trading privileges.

It was in this first quarter of the fourteenth century that Rashid-Eddin, a man of broad education, who was prime minister to the greatest of the Mongol emperors, Ghazan Khan, was entrusted with the preparation of a history of the Mongol Empire. This was followed later by a history of the world completed in the year 1310, in which there is a section dealing with China, containing a clear description of Chinese block-printing, from what was evidently a reliable source of information. This chronicle was a widely read book, and could not have failed to spread abroad the idea of mechanically producing books by this method.

The Mongol power collapsed during the middle decades of the fourteenth century, and in the following half-century block-printing made its appearance in Europe, but there is no evidence to show by which of the many routes it entered this continent.

At this stage of our study it may not be out of place to give some particulars of the methods employed by the block-printers in China, and of the character of the books so produced, which in many respects continue until to-day.

CHINESE
METHOD
OF PRINT-
ING.

It is true that movable type was a development of the eleventh century in China, when a man of cotton, meaning a man of the common people, named Pi Shêng, discovered how to make types of baked clay. A full description of this discovery, and of the method of setting has come down to us, but it is not my intention to enter into these details here. It may be said, however, that type was never extensively used in China. The Chinese never developed an alphabet, and since they have something like 40,000 different characters in their language this multiplicity of characters rendered the process of type-setting a very difficult process, and it was quicker to hack out a document on a block than to set it in type. It will be realised how difficult was the process of type-setting in China, when it is explained that the smallest fount of Chinese characters generally sold contains 6000 different types, and this would suffice only for the most ordinary kind of work. A well-equipped press would require founts of some 10,000 types.

The high-water mark of block-printing in China was reached during the Sung Dynasty (960-1280). The T'ang Dynasty (618-907) had been a time of rapidly extending frontiers and of contact with the lands of the West, a period of freshness and youth, an era of lyric poetry and religious faith. The Sung Dynasty, shut out from the West by the steadily encroaching nomads, was a time of ripe maturity. Lyric poetry gave way to learned prose, to great compendiums of history, to works on natural science and political economy of a character and quality such as neither China nor the West, except for a short period in Greece, had ever dreamed of. Religious faith gave way to philosophic speculation, and the great systems of thought were produced, which have dominated China to this day. In art, the lofty tradition of the earlier period was carried on and brought to fruition, so that the greatest and best Chinese paintings now extant belong to the period of the

Sungs. In invention, what the T'ang period conceived, the Sung era put to practical use. For example: the magnetic needle probably used in early times as a toy was applied to navigation, whilst gun-powder already known and used for pyrotechnic displays, was, during the Sung Dynasty, applied to war.

A similar development took place in printing. From an obscure Buddhist art at the end of the T'ang Dynasty, it was already making rapid strides during the half-century of interregnum or disruption. Feng Tao's classics were published only seven years (in 953) before the first Sung emperor ascended the throne, and it was not until the dynasty had become established that his work bore fruit.

The printing of the classics was one of the forces which restored Confucian literature and teaching to the place in national and popular regard that it had held before the advent of Buddhism, and the classical renaissance that followed can only be compared with the renaissance in Europe after the rediscovery of classical literature.

In quality, the block-printing of the Sung Dynasty has never been surpassed. The craftsmen were artists who reproduced in print very beautiful calligraphy, and in so doing set up a standard for all time. The importance of the work of the calligrapher, who prepared the copy of the work for the cutter, is shown by the fact that his name is recorded in the colophon along with those of the author and printer.

To give some idea of the magnitude of the work produced during the Sung Dynasty, it needs only to be stated that one important work was a voluminous commentary on the classics which filled no fewer than one hundred and eighty volumes. Another monumental work in many hundreds of volumes, the printing of which occupied nearly seventy years, consisted of the great dynastic histories, which was carried to a successful completion by the end of the tenth century.

This rapid printing of all sorts of books naturally made them think of improved methods of production. The first of these appears to have been the use of metal blocks of bronze, on which the characters were cut in relief and not in intaglio. It is impossible to say how extensively such plates were used, but there are allusions to plates of bronze which were distributed about the Empire during the Sung Dynasty, about 976, just prior to Pi Shêng's invention.

These were national undertakings, but side by side with them private printing was gaining ground, and spreading through the Empire.

Even in the private printing offices nothing was printed that was not considered to be of great worth and dignity. It was not until Mongol times (1280-1368) that the scope of literature was so broadened as to admit the novel and the drama, probably a reflection of Persian influence. The novel and the drama at that time was considered to be almost vulgar literature, if indeed the term literature could be applied to them at all.

There was, and still is, in China a sacredness surrounding the written word which impels men, as a pious act, to gather and burn printed scraps of paper, and thus to save them from being defiled.

The material employed for the blocks was generally a soft wood such as pear or apple tree. The wooden plank was squared to the shape and dimensions required. The surface was then rubbed over with paste or size made of boiled rice.

The text or picture was finely transcribed or drawn on thin transparent paper, which was pasted face down, and so inverted, on to the block. Such was the thinness of the paper that the lines of the text or picture shone through. The block-cutter then hacked away that portion of the surface which was not covered by ink, leaving the characters or pictures in high relief. The block was then covered with a thin watery ink and the impression was taken by placing a sheet of paper on the inked surface and pressing it down by rubbing the back with a brush or frotton. So expert and expeditious are the Chinese block printers that it is possible for one man to take off two thousand copies a day.

The block was generally of sufficient size to provide for two pages of text. The paper being thin it was only printed on one side, so that each sheet gave two printed pages, which were folded back so as to bring the blank sides in inward contact. The fold being at the outer edge of the book the sheets were stitched together in that order.

Chinese ink was made by placing a number of well-lighted wicks in a vessel full of oil, over which a dome or funnel-like cover of iron was placed. When this was well coated with lamp black, the black was brushed off and collected on paper. It was then well mixed in a mortar with a solution of gum and reduced to the consistency of a paste, which was put into little moulds and allowed to harden. The best ink was produced from the burning of particular oils, but the common and cheaper kinds were

CHINESE
INK.

produced from fir wood. To prepare ink for writing it was rubbed in water on a smooth stone.

The ink used in block-printing whether in China, Asia, Egypt, or Europe, was practically uniform.

Chinese ink is not satisfactory for taking impressions on metal, because it stands in globules on the metal surface, and makes a rough impression. The first typographers of Europe with their metal types, were faced with this problem, which they solved by using an ink whose pigment was dissolved in oil.

When we turn to the history of block-printing in Europe, we find there is considerable uncertainty as to whether religious pictures or playing cards were the first objects upon which the wood-cutter practised his art. There is little doubt, however, that both sorts of printing were very closely connected, and that they were often carried on side by side by the same persons.

Although it is impossible to confirm the suggestion that playing cards coming from China brought block-printing with them to the West, there is evidence at least sufficient to suggest that they hold an important place in the entry of this art into Europe.

PLAYING
CARDS.

That being the case, it may assist us in our study to enquire as to what is known of the history of playing cards, which belong to a group of games, having dice as their background, that spread over a considerable part of Asia before the time of the Crusades.

Plutarch is responsible for the statement that dice were an early invention of the Egyptians acknowledged as such by the Egyptians themselves, since they were introduced into one of their oldest mythological fables, in which Mercury is represented as playing at dice with the Moon, previous to the birth of Osiris, and winning from her the five days of the epact which were added to complete the 365 days of the year. From Egypt they spread throughout the Roman Empire, and found their way into China early in the Christian era. The earliest reference to their presence in the Far East, however, is from the year 501 B.C., when, says tradition, Lao-tzū brought back the game from the Western barbarians.

There is little doubt that both cards and dominoes originated in China, but it is not possible to say when the transition from dice to cards took place.

The earliest forms of cards were called sheet dice, and they began to appear according to one authority as early as the T'ang Dynasty (618-907). During the Sung Dynasty (960-1280) they continued to be printed on cards, but they were also made of ivory and bone, and may be regarded as the earliest form of dominoes. Later, they developed into more complicated forms, one of which has found its way to the West under the name of Mah Jongg. Immediately after the Mongol period (1280-1386) cards began to appear in Europe, and were recognised as of Eastern origin.

The earliest reference to playing-cards in Europe is that which relates to St. Louis of France, who, upon his return from the Crusades, in 1254, found his dominions given up to the vice of card-playing, and prohibited their further use.

The earliest authentic reference for their introduction into any part of Germany is 1377. There, as in other parts of Europe, the vice of gambling became so rife towards the close of the fourteenth century, that cards were prohibited in many places, notably at Nuremberg between 1380 and 1384, at Ulm in 1397, and at Augsburg in 1400, 1403, and 1406. At Nordlingen, card playing continued to be illegal until 1440.

In Paris card-playing became so popular that on the 22nd of January, 1397, the Provost of the city issued a decree forbidding working people to play at tennis, bowls, dice, cards, or ninepins on working days. The Synod of Langres also found it necessary, in 1404, to forbid the clergy to play cards.

A climax seems to have been reached in May, 1423, if the story related by Schreiber is to be believed, when Saint Bernardino of Siena preached a famous sermon from the steps of St. Peter's at Rome against card-playing. The saint, according to the story, preached with such effect that his hearers rushed to their houses, brought back such cards and games of hazard as they possessed to the public square, where they were burnt. Whereupon, one card maker, who felt that his business had been ruined by the sermon, went in tears to the saint. Father, said he, I am a card maker and know no other trade. You have forbidden me to make cards, and have condemned me and my family to die of starvation. Said St. Bernardino: If you know how to paint, paint this image, showing him the image of Christ with the monogram "I.H.S" in the centre of a halo of glory.

The source of the story is not given, but it is of interest as having given rise to the suggestion that religious prints were intended as a corrective, which counteracted the vice of card-playing. These attacks upon the popular pastime were without any permanent effect, for at the end of the fifteenth century playing cards were more popular than ever.

Without doubt the earliest of these cards were painted and not printed, for in the archives, guild-books, and registers of such towns as Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Ulm, there are references to card-makers, who are always described as *kartenmacher*, or *kartenmaler*, never as *kartendrucker*.

Yet when we consider the enormous popularity of cards at the end of the fourteenth century, and the fact recorded by Felix Fabri in his "Descriptio Sueviae" that they were manufactured in great quantities at Ulm and were exported to Italy, Sicily, and the farthest isles of the sea, it seems highly probable that some mechanical process of making them was introduced quite early, whether by means of stencils, as has been suggested, or otherwise. Even so, it remains to be said that there is no evidence of the existence of printed cards before 1441, the year when the Signoria of Venice were persuaded by the local manufacturers to place an embargo on the importation of foreign printed pictures and cards. The earliest extant examples of printed playing cards seem to be no older than 1460.

Religious pictures of a much earlier date have been preserved in considerable quantities. They were produced chiefly for distribution to the pilgrims at the popular shrines in the centre of Europe.

RELIGIOUS
PRINTS.

The practice of going on pilgrimage was very frequent in the fourteenth century and received a great accession of popularity, when Pope Boniface IX. (1389-1404) extended the privilege of granting indulgences to places of pilgrimage other than the basilicas of Rome. Cologne and Munich were the first places in Germany to receive the privilege, and the grants were continued by succeeding Popes, with the result that a great many pilgrims journeyed to these favoured sanctuaries.

These block-prints given or sold to the pilgrims were of a limited range of subjects, which consisted of a number of popular saints such as St. Anthony, St. Bridget, St. Christopher, St. George, St. Andrew,

St. Jerome, and St. Sebastian, with a number of biblical subjects such as the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Crucifixion, and other scenes of the Passion. These formed the stock-in-trade of the religious houses of the first half of the fifteenth century.

These little pictures were known in German as *heiligen*, or in the Suabian dialect as *helgen*. Here again, the earliest makers of these pictures were described as *heiligenmaler*, and it was not until a later date that they were known in Germany as *heiligendrucker*, or in the Netherlands as *heyligeprinter*.

The pilgrims returning from the various shrines carried these pictures home and pasted them into their books of devotion, when they possessed such treasured volumes, or they put them up on the walls of their dwellings, such as they were, and in doing so they took the first step towards bringing one of the attractions of the church within reach of the domestic circle. It was the erection of a private shrine.

They were very crude at first, consisting of figures or pictures copied no doubt from illuminated manuscripts, enamels, or ivories. They were printed in outline and were intended to be filled in with colour by hand. Whilst many of them are very crude, others are of great artistic merit. This high artistic merit is exceptional rather than common, yet the craftsmen often possessed a gift for dramatic presentment and in some cases of a true instinct for beautiful and expressive line. Much of the charm depends upon the application of colour to the native black and white. This may be harmonious or garish, and in many cases it was the latter.

At first they do not appear to have been common articles of trade made for sale by professional woodcutters. More probably they were the work of the monks themselves or of the lay craftsmen dependent on the monasteries. The production of these prints continued throughout the fifteenth century, and it is thought that a guild of craftsmen grew up who sold the blocks to the religious houses with the necessary supply of paper and other material to enable them to make prints. Indeed, there is evidence that heads of religious establishments were in possession of such sets. In the inventory of Jean de Hinsburg, Bishop of Liège (1418-1455) are noticed: "unum instrumentum ad imprimendas scripturas et ymagines," and "Novem printe lignee ad imprimendas ymagines cum quatuordecim allis lapideis printis." In fact



3.—THE BLOCK-PRINT OF "ST. ANTONY THE HERMIT," IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY



4.—THE BLOCK-PRINT OF "ST. BRIDGET OF SWEDEN," IN THE JOHN KYLANDS LIBRARY

there are woodcuts known which bear the name and arms of a convent.

Schreiber quotes a passage from Martin Luther's "An den christlicher Adel," in which he complains that the Pope lets convents remain empty, and only puts in a monk to say mass and sell pictures.

The dates assigned to the known examples are on the grounds of style, in comparison with the drawings contained in manuscripts, or with pictures.

The earliest of the religious prints which have come down to us have no textual or descriptive matter of any kind upon them, and it has been suggested that there was possibly a still earlier stage, of which no example has hitherto been discovered, when the subject of the picture was of a purely conventional type, without any distinguishing features, which could be made to do duty for any saint.

We are on firmer ground when we come to the figures which are furnished with symbols having reference to some outstanding incidents in the life of the particular saint represented, by which he may be identified, although as yet they have no textual matter upon them.

The St. Anthony print (plate 3) illustrates this stage. St. Anthony was hermit, abbot, and patriarch of the monks in the first half of the fourth century. He is represented with a nimbus, and as carrying in his hand a staff shaped like a T, from one arm of which a bell is suspended. This refers to his sermons on the virtue of the Cross, and the chasing away of the demons by the ringing of the bell. The little pig at his side symbolises the spirit of impurity, which had tempted St. Anthony, and by him had been overcome. On either side is a man in the act of invoking his help, whilst beneath his feet are flames symbolizing a disease known as "ignis infernalis," or "feu d'Antoine" which raged in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The succeeding stage is represented by St. Bridget (plate 4), which in addition to the distinguishing symbols has a textual inscription in the form of an invocation. St. Bridget was a princess of Sweden (1302-1373) who was canonized in 1391. The small picture of the Virgin and Child in the top left-hand corner refers to the pious widow writing an account of her visions and revelations, in which she is said to have been frequently favoured with the appearance of the Blessed Virgin. The pilgrim's hat and staff and scrip probably allude to her pilgrimage

to Jerusalem, which she was induced to make in consequence of a vision. The shield bearing the letters S.P.Q.R. denote the place (Rome) where she saw the vision and where she died. The Arms of Sweden and the crown at her feet are most likely intended to denote that she was a princess of the blood royal of Sweden. The most significant feature in the print, are the words above the figure of the saint, which are an invocation to St. Bridget :

"obrigita bit got fir uns"
 "O Bridget pray to God for us."

Very few actual dates occur on prints of the first half of the fifteenth century, and in several instances where such dates do occur they are believed to refer to some historical event, rather than to the year in which they were produced. The earliest date which occurs on any print is 1384, but that date refers to a miracle which is said to have taken place in that year, whilst the print was probably executed a century later.

DATED
BLOCK-
PRINTS.

In the Royal Library at Brussels is preserved a very famous print of the Madonna and the Infant Saviour surrounded by St. Barbara, St. Catharine, St. Veronica, and St. Margaret, bearing the date 1418. But the genuineness of this date has been seriously challenged. It has been alleged that the roman numerals forming the date have been tampered with, and that from the evidence of the treatment of the draper, the execution cannot be assigned to a date earlier than 1460.

The next date is 1423, which is found on a print of St. Christopher (plate 5) of which the only known copy is preserved in the John Rylands Library. It is regarded as the earliest surviving dated print executed in the Western world. The date is considered to be indisputable by the principal authorities, although there are those amongst them who doubt whether 1423 is the date of execution. Dr. Lippmann has published a defence in every sense of the genuineness of the date as a result of a very close examination of the print and of the colouring.

THE ST.
CHRIS-
TOPHER
PRINT.

The print owes its preservation to the fact that it has been pasted on the inner side of the right-hand board of the original binding, which is of oak covered with undressed deer skin, of a Latin manuscript entitled "Laus Virginis," containing lections and offices of the B.V.M.



5.— THE BLOCK-PRINT OF "ST. CHRISTOPHER," 1423, IN THE
 JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY



6.—THE BLOCK-PRINT OF "THE ANNUNCIATION," IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

The manuscript was written in the Carthusian House, which is one of the oldest convents in Germany, and is situated at Buxheim, in Memmingen, in Swabia, within fifty miles of the city of Augsburg, where in 1418, the first mention of a *kartenmacher* occurs. In the manuscript itself is a note stating that it was written in 1417, together with another note to the effect that the volume was given to the convent by Anna, daughter of Stephen, baron of Gundelfingen, a countess of Büchow, who was living in 1427, where it remained until the latter part of the eighteenth century, when it was acquired by Baron Heinecken, an unwearied collector of old woodcuts and block-books, who published an account of his collection, under the title "*Idée générale d'une collection complete d'estampes*," in 1771.

The print measures $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches high by $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches wide. The design is far superior to the earlier prints already described, and many of the cuts found in the early type printed books. The figures of the Saint, and of the youthful Christ he bears upon his shoulders, are designed in such a style that they would scarcely discredit Dürer. The whole treatment of the subject seems to breathe of the East, as though it had been suggested from some Chinese model. The saint carries a palm-tree as his staff, while the treatment of the water is distinctively Chinese, and the perspective of the scene, or the absence of it, points to the same influence.

To the left of the picture the artist has introduced, with a noble disregard of perspective, a bit of nature. In the foreground a figure is seen driving an ass loaded with a sack towards an overshot water mill, while up a steep path the miller is seen carrying a sack from the back-door of the mill towards a cottage. To the right is a hermit, known by the bell over the entrance to his cell, holding a lantern to direct St. Christopher, as he crosses the stream.

The two lines at the foot of the print read :—

"*Cristofori faciem die quacumq; tueris - ' - millesimo CCCC^o
Illa nempe die morte mala non morieris - ' - XX^o tercio*" :—

which may be translated :

"Each day that thou the likeness of St. Christopher shalt see

That day no frightful form of death shall make an end of thee."

They allude to a popular superstition, common at that period, which induced people to believe that the day on which they should see a figure of St. Christopher, they would not meet with a violent death or

die without confession. To this popular superstition Erasmus alludes in his "Praise of Folly," and Chaucer no doubt alludes to it when in the "Canterbury Tales" he invests his squire with "a cristofre on his brest of silver shene."

Not only is St. Christopher the patron saint of mariners, children, and the working man, but he has since been adopted by motorists.

It may not be out of place briefly to summarise the legend of St. Christopher as it is found in the "Legenda Aurea" of Voragine:—

Reprobatus was a heathen giant who was determined to serve the strongest king he could find. He goes to the mighty Pharaoh and serves him, but whenever the devil is mentioned the king crosses himself. Reprobatus perceives that he fears the devil, consequently he goes off in search of the devil to serve him. Satan takes him into his service, but one day Reprobatus sees the devil start aside at a cross. Thus he sees there is one stronger than Satan, so he leaves his service and goes in search of Christ. He finds a hermit who orders him to pray. That I cannot do says Reprobatus. Then you must carry travellers over the deep river. So Reprobatus who had been a reprobate became Christopherus and undertook his good work. One night a voice calls to him. He goes out to find a little child, and puts him on his shoulder to carry him over. But the child nearly weighed him down. When he placed the child on the other bank he said: "you seemed to weigh as heavy as the world." "Well said Christopher," answers the child, "I created the world, I redeemed the world, I bear the sins of the world," and he vanished. Thus Christopher saw that he had borne Christ over the river. It is thus that St. Christopher is represented in Western art.

On the left hand or upper board of the same manuscript which holds the St. Christopher, is another block-print, but in this instance it is undated. It represents the Annunciation (plate 6), and in the opinion of Mr. Campbell Dodgson, the Keeper of the Prints in the British Museum, belongs most certainly to the same period as the St. Christopher. The lines of the Annunciation, however, are finer, the drawing has more detail and there are no glaring faults of perspective, as in the companion print. Indeed, it may be said that the merits of the engraving are such that they seem to indicate the hand of a practised engraver rather than a beginner.

There is no reason for supposing that the dated examples are the oldest of the several hundred block-prints that have come down to us. Indeed, there is a good deal of controversy as to when the making of such prints really began, but the weight of evidence seems to favour the later decades of the fourteenth century.

The purpose of these prints is indicated by the words of invocation found on the St. Bridget and the St. Christopher prints. Therefore, quite apart from any artistic merit, these pictures are important as evidence of the moral and religious ideas of the age in which they were produced. The majority of them are representations of sacred subjects, and they show most clearly what were the objects of popular devotion, and in what manner that devotion found utterance.

The block-prints were the forerunners of the block-books, and this transition from single pictures to collections of pictures BLOCK-BOOKS. made up into books was a natural one.

The books were at first produced in the same way as the single leaf prints by being printed only on one side of the paper. They were then pasted back to back and made up into books. Others were printed in pairs, still on one side of the paper; and later still they were printed on both sides of the paper, and gathered into quires. Dr. Pollard is of opinion that the earliest specimens were intended not to be bound up but to be pasted on walls like the block-prints.

Manuscripts illustrated for the use of poor preachers had been made as early as the twelfth century, in accordance with the famous saying of St. Gregory, that the illiterate read by means of pictures, and therefore for the people in a marked degree painting takes the place of reading, in which the story is realistically unfolded by means of the pictures.

That these manuscripts served as models for the block cutters is not mere conjecture, since many examples survive which enable us to mark the transition from the painted to the printed pictures, and in several instances by placing the two side by side we seem to have surprised the cutter with the aid of a plank of wood and a sharp knife in the act of copying the painted books of a century earlier. Two or three most striking examples of this transition are preserved in the John Rylands Library, one of which is an "Apocalypse" of the middle fourteenth century, and another is the "Speculum humane salvationis" of the same period, both of which have been very closely copied by the block cutters (plates 8 and 12).

It may be said, therefore, that the block-books were mechanical reproductions of these manuscripts, which consisted of scriptural and moral illustrations with an explanatory text. They were books to look at rather than to read. The text was subordinated to the pictures,

and may have been intended as a prompter to the priests, who, in the latter part of the fifteenth century were not as familiar with their Bibles as their office demanded.

To modern eyes the illustrations appear strange if not irreverent, but the designer had no thought of irreverence. They took the Bible stories and clothed them in a mediæval setting, so that they might the better be understood by the illiterate.

For example, we find Gideon arrayed in plate-armour, with mediæval helmet and visor, and a Turkish scimitar in his hand. Or, we have David and Solomon represented in rakish wide-brimmed hats with high conical crowns. The translation of Elijah takes place in a four-wheeled vehicle resembling a farmer's waggon, or an early type of motor-car. The Israelites are represented in slouched hats, puffed doublets, tight-legged breeches, and pointed shoes.

The manner of printing was practically the same as that employed in the East, since the earliest examples were printed before the printing press was devised, or adapted from the domestic press. The block was inked over with a thin watery ink by means of an improvised inking cushion. It was then covered with a sheet of dampened paper, and carefully rubbed or dabbed with a frotton, which is a small cushion composed of cloth stuffed with wool, or with some other such implement. The feasibility of this method is questioned by some authorities, but there is nothing unreasonable in the supposition that impressions were obtained in this way. The dampened paper would cling to the block as it was pressed down upon it by the frotton, and would not slip as has been suggested. As long as this method of printing continued it was impossible to print on both sides of the paper, for the friction necessary to obtain the second print would inevitably smear the first.

It was customary at one time to date block-books between 1420 and 1440, but it is now generally contended that few if any of them can be dated before 1450.

Schreiber in his "*Manuel de l'amateur . . .*" (1902), gives a table of thirty-three different block-books, but the number of editions of these amounted to 101, in other words, we have evidence of 101 different sets of blocks. Schreiber's view is that there is no evidence external or internal for dating any of the existing examples much before 1460.

This number and variety of the editions of the block-books are

proofs that there must have been a very large demand for them, and consequently a widespread desire for simple instruction as to the incidents in the life of Christ, and the events of Old Testament history which were regarded as prefigurements of them : as to the dignity of the Blessed Virgin ; the end of the world and the coming of the Antichrist ; and the spiritual dangers and temptations of the dying and the means by which they might be resisted.

As early specimens of book illustration the value of the block-books varies very greatly. The majority are more curious than beautiful, but some of them have very great merit and are full of vigour, charm, and dignity.

It has been asserted by some authorities that no block-book with legible xylographic text was produced until after the invention of typography. Be that as it may, it cannot be denied that many block-prints with legible xylographic text were produced long before the introduction of movable type, which cannot be placed earlier than 1448. That being the case we may quite reasonably assume that the block-book was a natural outgrowth of the block-print, and that it developed quite independently from the type-printed book.

The block-book, to whatever period the earliest surviving example may be assigned, was not superseded by the type-printed book. They continued to be produced, side by side, until the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and were in common use long after the so-called invention of typography.

It may be that as compared with the type-printed books the block-books are rude and clumsy makeshifts, but they long served the purpose for which they were intended, that was to appeal to the limited intelligence of the illiterate by unfolding to them, by means of pictures, the story with which they dealt, and such was the realism of the treatment that it was possible to follow the story through all its incidents without any text.

Of these interesting objects the John Rylands library is in proud possession of fifteen examples, all of which are in a remarkably fine state of preservation. The library also possesses what is probably the only surviving fifteenth-century block, from which one of the pages of one of the early editions of the "Apocalypse" was printed.

To conclude our study, we will make an attempt to describe the

most characteristic and most popular of the block-books, from the copies to which we have access

The most popular of the block-books is known as the "Biblia Pauperum." It is without any distinguishing ^{BIBLIA} ^{PAUPERUM.} title, but such a title is found in a fourteenth-century manuscript copy in the Library of Wolfenbüttel, in which the opening words are : "*Incipit Biblia pauperum.*" Ten distinct issues and editions have been distinguished by Schreiber, the earlier of which appear to have been made in the Netherlands (plate 7).

The first edition, probably printed in the Netherlands, consists of a series of forty composite pictures, arranged in three compartments, the central one representing a scene in the life of Christ, while on either side of it is an Old Testament typical incident. Explanatory letterpress is given in ribbon scrolls or in the upper corners of the pictures.

The aim of the book was the teaching of the parallel lessons of truth to be found in the Old and the New Testament. It is, in fact, a series of skeleton sermons, ornamented with woodcuts to warm the preacher's imagination and is stored with texts to assist his memory. It would be more appropriate therefore to speak of it as "*Biblia pauperum predicatorum*," that is : "the poor preacher's Bible."

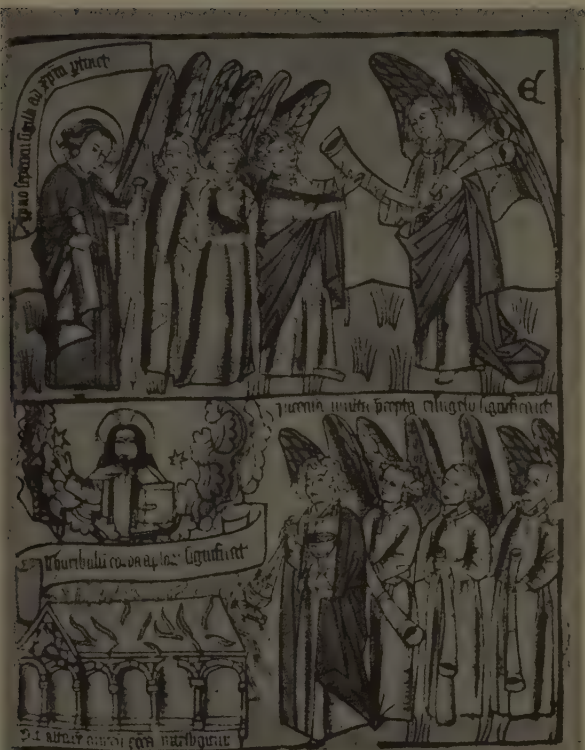
It is said to have been designed, in its original form, by a monk named Wernher, who was living in 1180, and was famous as a painter and poet. Another authority puts the origin back to the ninth century and attributes the work to St. Ansgarius, the first bishop of Hamburg.

A number of manuscript copies, written prior to the fifteenth century are extant, of which no two are alike, although the general plan in all copies has been preserved.

As an indication of the nature of the teaching inculcated. The fourteenth page appears to inculcate the necessity of restraining appetite. In the central compartment is seen Christ resisting the temptation of the Devil in the wilderness, on one side is Adam and Eve with the forbidden fruit, and on the other side is Esau receiving the mess of pottage from Jacob.

Another very popular block-book was the "*Apocalypsis Sancti Johannis*" or the "Book of the Revelation of Saint John the Divine," of which there are at least six distinct editions known (plates 8-9). Some have fifty leaves, others have only forty-eight printed upon one side only.

THE APO-
CALYPSE.



9—A PAGE OF THE BLOCK-BOOK "APOCALYPSE SANCTI JOHANNIS," FROM ONE OF THE COPIES IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY



10.—A PAGE OF THE BLACK-BOOK "HISTORIA SEU PROVIDENTIA VIRGINIS MARIAE EX BANTICO CANTICORUM," FROM THE COPY IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

The dissimilarity in the designs and in the cutting of the pictures in these editions are so unmistakable, that each edition may be regarded as the work of a different hand.

As a literary production it may have small merit, but it served the purpose of unfolding in a realistic manner "the Revelation of St. John the Divine." It is in fact a book of pictures, which may be rudely cut, but they indicate great strength of character in the faces, and much artistic skill in the grouping of the figures, which are a reflection of the qualities which characterise the manuscript copies of a century earlier.

Each page has two pictures representing stages in the unfolding of the vision. In the first picture St. John is represented preaching at Ephesus to a magnate whose robe or mantle is held by two attendants, and a married lady of Ephesus named Drusiana, one of the many converts of St. John. In the lower half of the same page St. John is baptising Drusiana in the Christian temple of Ephesus in a mediæval font, whilst six armed men are peeping through the chinks of the barred door, endeavouring by violence to gain entrance. The second page shows St. John brought before the prefect by soldiers and a witness, and in the lower compartment he is seen stepping into the boat which is to carry him to Patmos, whither he has been banished. The following picture shows St. John sitting in the centre of the island of Patmos, which is fashioned like a piece of floating bath cork, so as to convey the information that Patmos was an island, which is a piece of land entirely surrounded by water. The angel of the vision is by his side, and the seven churches of Asia are set out, having the appearance of seven sentry boxes before which the seven angels of the churches have mounted guard. In this manner throughout the book it is possible to follow the unfolding of the vision, stage by stage, without the assistance of any text, although texts by way of prompters are provided on each page.

Perhaps the most beautiful of the whole series is the "*Historia seu providentia Virginis Mariæ ex Cantico Canticorum*," which is a prefiguration of the Virgin Mary from the THE SONG OF SONGS. "Song of Songs" (plate 10).

There are two editions of this book known, in one the Latin texts or inscriptions in the scrolls are more accurate than in the other, and opinions are divided as to which is the earlier.

There are two subjects on each page, one above the other, thirty-two subjects in all.

The style of the engravings indicate a more advanced state of art than those of the "Apocalypse" and the "Biblia pauperum." The field of the cut is much better filled, and the figures contain more work and shading. In the background there are indications of a perception of natural beauty, such as the introduction of trees, flowers, and animals. Indeed, the whole treatment of the subject is that of an artist who is not an unworthy precursor of Dürer.

In some of the designs heraldic shields are introduced, the emblems on which belong to Germany rather than to Holland.

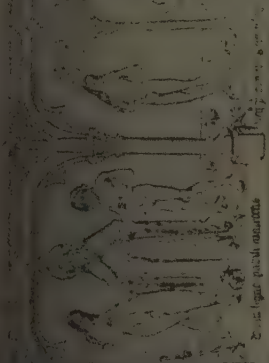
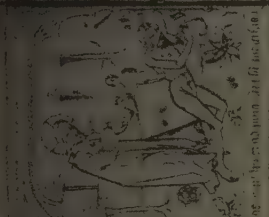
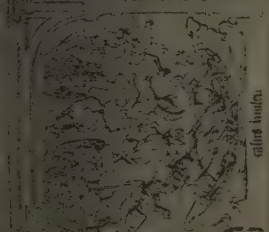
The incidents of the life of the Virgin, described in the "Song of Songs" are assumed by commentators to be typical of the history of the church.

In one of the designs agriculturists are represented in monastic habits, cutting and threshing grain, whilst others are pounding grain in a mortar, or grinding it in a hand-mill. In the background is seen a little oratory with two books open upon a desk. In this combination of agricultural work with the emblems of study may be seen an illustration of the daily work of the Brethren of the Common Life, to whom have been attributed the engraving and printing of the book. The brethren of this order were eminent as students and copyists of books, and had some distinction in the last quarter of the fifteenth century as printers, but their connection with this book cannot be definitely established.

The "Speculum humane salvationis" has been more frequently the subject of discussion than any other of the block-books (plates 12-13). We must only allude in the briefest manner to the statements and theories that have been advanced by one and another authority in ascribing its execution to Laurens Janszoon Coster, of Harlem, who, in the act of engraving the blocks, discovered the art of printing with movable letters, and that the later edition, in which the text is printed partly from wood-blocks and partly from movable metal types, was printed by Coster's heirs and successors, the movable types having been stolen by Johann Gutenberg before the whole of the text was set up.

SPECULUM
HUMANÆ
SALVA-
TIONIS.

The volume is a small folio, of which four editions are known, two in Latin and two in Dutch. The Latin edition consists of sixty-three leaves, five of which are occupied by an introduction or prologue. In



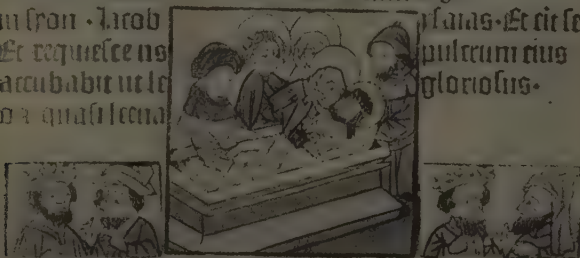
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[illegible][illegible]

David. In pace factus ē
 lor^o ei^o et habitatio eius
 in syon. Jacob
 Et requiesce ns
 accubabit ut le
 o a quasi secna

Salomō. Ecce de ruiō et
 cor meum uigilat.

Isaias. Et erit se
 pulcrum eius
 gloriosus.



Mirra conditur. et ab his epus sepelitur.



Aegit gen^o qñ frēs ioseph cū uiderē uellēt rēnabellus
 reuētes cū tunica sua mittētes in cisternā uicēā q̄ erat
 ī solitudīe mēta dotharm. ioseph xp̄m sīgē qñ missus
 fuit ī sepulcrū sed tamē de sepulcro mirabiliter uiu^o ue
 rus deus et homo resurrexit.

Aegit ī lib^o ionē qñ ionas nauis nauis ascēdisset ut fu
 gerte tharlis fca ē tēpētas marīa ī mari et cū misēūt
 fortes recidit fors sup ionā qñ misēūt ī mare de gluci
 mēu belua marīa ī cui^o uēte fuit tribz diebz ⁊ noctibz.
 Ionas xp̄m sīgē q̄ fuit in corde fce tribz diebz ⁊ noctibz.

the Dutch edition the prologue occupies only four pages, giving the volume only sixty-two leaves.

There are fifty-eight cuts, each of which is divided into two compartments by a slender column in the centre. In all the editions the cuts are arranged as head-pieces, having the text beneath in two columns. The plan is almost the same as in the "*Biblia pauperum*," several of the subjects being treated in the same manner, although in no single instance is the design precisely the same. One compartment contains the supposed type or prefiguration, and the other is the fulfilment. For example: the Lord appearing to Moses in the burning bush is typical of the Annunciation; the brazen bath in the temple of Solomon is typical of baptism; the manna provided for the children of Israel in the desert is typical of the Lord's Supper.

Although most of the subjects are taken from the Bible and the Apocrypha, two or three are drawn from prophane history.

The "*Ars memorandi*," which may be described as "the art of remembering the gospels by means of symbols," is considered by some authorities to be one of the earliest of the block-books (plate 11).

ARS
MEMOR-
ANDI.

It consist of fifteen woodcuts with the same number of separate pages of text, also cut in wood. In each woodcut the principal figure is a symbol which is emblematic of the evangelist whose gospel is to be impressed on the memory. The book opens with St. John, whose emblem is an eagle, and whose gospel is symbolised in three woodcuts with as many pages of text facing them; St. Matthew, represented by an angel, has five illustrations and five pages of text; St. Mark with the emblem of an ox has three cuts and three pages of text allotted to him; whilst St. Luke, represented by a lion, has four cuts and an equal number of pages of text.

The first woodcut of the collection is intended to express figuratively the first six chapters of St. John's Gospel. The eagle is the emblem of the evangelist as already indicated, and the numerals which are to be found close to the little subsidiary groups of symbols, are the references to the chapters. The contents of the first chapter is represented by the dove perched on the eagle's head, and two faces, probably intended to represent Moses and Christ and symbolising the passage "For the law came by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." A lute on the breast of the eagle with something like

bells suspended from it indicate the contents of the second chapter, and are supposed to refer to the marriage in Cana of Galilee. Between the feet of the eagle is a water bucket surmounted by a crown or coronet, supposed to refer to the meeting at the well of Jesus and the woman of Samaria, and to the healing of the nobleman's son at Capernaum. A fish above the eagle's right wing is a reminder of the pool of Bethesda. The principal event in the sixth chapter is the feeding of the five thousand, which is represented by two fishes and five loaves above the left wing. This group is surmounted by a cross within a circle, which is emblematic of the consecrated wafer in the Eucharist.

This was the method employed throughout the fifteen woodcuts, to assist the memory in recollecting the principal events recorded in the Gospels.

The "*Ars Moriendi*," literally the "art of dying" although it would be more accurately described as "the art of dying becomingly." It is also known as "the temptations of ^{ARS} MORIENDI demons."

At least ten editions of this popular book have been identified, seven in Latin, and three in German. The text is substantially the same in all editions but the pictures are dissimilar, and the engraving and printing are of unequal merit. Some copies are printed in brown ink, others in black ink. Some are printed on one side of the leaf only, others are printed on both sides. One edition is composed of twenty-four leaves of which thirteen are given up to the text and eleven to the pictures.

The object of the book is to describe the temptations that beset the dying. The first picture represents the dying man as tempted by devils concerning his faith. The succeeding picture shows the good angels who enable him to remain steadfast. In like manner the dying man is tempted by devils to despair, to impatience and to avarice, but through the help of the angels he triumphs over all his adversaries. In the last of the series of pictures the spirit of the dying man is being exhaled from his mouth, and is received by the angels, to the utter disgust of the baffled devils who display frightful contortions as they beat a retreat.

The ostensible purpose of the book was the preparation of men for another world, but the real object was the aggrandisement of the

church, and to this end the writer of the book recommended the sacrifice of the desire to provide for one's family.

Another book which belongs to the later period is the "Kunst Chiromantia" of Dr. Johann Hartlieb, a folio consisting of forty-four figures of the human hand, which was probably composed in 1448, and for some time circulated in manuscript before being printed.

DIE KUNST
CHIRO-
MANTIA.

The text is in German, and the copy in the John Rylands Library bears the name of the printer and place of printing as Jorg Schapff of Augsburg, who is supposed to have been the engraver and printer of the book in 1475. The work does not do him much credit.

The author foretells the destiny of man by his right hand, and of woman by her left hand. At the time of its issue in 1475, chiromancy was regarded as a science.

Of the two latest block-books in the Rylands collection one is a little guide-book for visitors to Rome, known as the "Mirabilia Urbis Romae," which is composed of ninety-two leaves printed on both sides of the paper, with a few illustrations.

It was probably first published to meet the rush of German pilgrims to Rome on the occasion of the Jubilee of Pope Sixtus IV., in 1475. It is suggested that the blocks were cut in Germany, but that the printing was executed in Italy, since some of the ornaments are found to have been used in type-printed editions issued by Stephen Planck.

The other which is generally quoted as the latest of the block-books is: "Opera nova contemplativa per ogni fidel christiano la quale tratta de le figure del testamento vecchio, le quale figure sonno verificate nel testamento nuova." It is an adaptation of the "Biblia pauperum," thus the last as it may have been the first of the block-books. It is undated, but the name of the publisher is given as Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, who worked at Venice about 1530.

The transition from the block-book to the type-printed illustrated book is shown in an interesting form in the "Biblia pauperum," printed by Albrecht Pfister, at Bamberg, in or about 1461, in the type known as the 36-line type, because it was employed in the Bible technically described as the 36-line Bible, which has thirty-six lines to each column, to distinguish from the other Bible which has forty-two lines to each column (plate 14).

It is interesting as being the first type-printed book to be printed with illustrations, unless the "Speculum humanae salvationis" antedates it, and therefore would appear to have been copied from or suggested by its block-book prototype.

There are two editions known, one in Latin, the other in German, of each of which the only copies in this country are to be found in the John Rylands Library.

AUTHORITIES.

We have not thought it necessary to indicate the references to authorities in footnotes on every page, but to give in this way, in the form of an appendix to the article, a list of the principal sources of information upon which we have drawn.

We wish to emphasise our indebtedness to the work of the late Professor T. F. Carter, of Columbia University, on "The invention of printing in China and its spread westward" which has been invaluable, for it has brought a flood of new light upon the subject with which it deals.

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JOHN BUNYAN.

1628 NOVEMBER 1928.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF HIS LIFE, TIMES, AND WRITINGS.

By THE EDITOR.

JOHAN BUNYAN, whose birth three hundred years ago we commemorate in the month of November of the present year, was born into an era which was both stirring and romantic. His baptism is recorded in the parish register of Elstow as having taken place on the 30th of November, 1628.

Much was crowded into the sixty years of Bunyan's eventful life. It embraced the turbulent reign of Charles the first, the Star Chamber and the High Commission ; the long intestine war with its memories of Edgehill, Naseby, and Marston Moor ; a discrowned monarch, a royal trial, and a royal execution. Bunyan saw all that was venerable and all that was novel changing places like the scene shifting of a drama. Then followed the Protectorate during which an Englishman became a power and a name ; the Restoration with its reaction of excesses ; the Act of Uniformity framed in true succession to take effect on St. Bartholomew's day, by which at one fell swoop were ejected two thousand ministers ; the Conventicle Act which hounded the ejected ones from the copse and from the glen, and made it treason for a vesper hymn to rise from the forest minster ; and the great plague, a fitting sequel to enactments so foul. Then came the death of the dissolute king, the accession of James with a renewal of the struggle between prerogative and freedom ; the wild conspiracy of Monmouth, the military cruelties of Kirke and Claverhouse, and the judicial cruelties of Jeffreys ; the martyrdoms of Elizabeth Gaunt, of gentle Alice Lisle, the acquittal of the seven bishops : the final eclipse of the house of Stuart, and England's last

THE
Pilgrim's Progreſs
FROM
THIS WORLD,
TO
That which is to come:

Delivered under the Similitude of a

DREAM

Wherein is Diſcovered,
The manner of his ſetting out,
His Dangerous Journey; And ſafe
Arrival at the Deſired Countrey.

I have uſed Similitudes, Hoſ. 12. 10.

By *John Bunyan.*

Licensed and Entered according to Order.

L O N D O N,
Printed for *Nath. Ponder* at the *Peacock*
in the *Poultry* near *Cornhil*, 1678.

revolution which transferred the ultimate decision in the state from the king to parliament.

What a rush of history was compressed into a period less than the life span of man ! These were times for the development of character, times for the birth of men. And the men were there : the poet, the wit, the divine, and the hero, as if genius had brought out her jewels, and furnished them for the nation's needs. Pym and Hampden bearded tyranny, Russell and Sydney dreamed of freedom, Blake secured the empire of ocean, and Falkland fought and fell. In those stirring times Charnock, Owen, Howe, Henry, and Baxter wrote, and preached, and prayed. Cudworth and Henry More were living at Cambridge, South was at Oxford, Prideaux in the close at Norwich, Whitby in the close at Salisbury. Sherlock preached at the Temple, Tillotson at Lincoln's Inn, Burnet at the Rolls, Stillingfleet at St. Paul's, Beveridge at St. Peter's, Cornhill. "Men who could set forth the majesty and beauty of Christianity with such justness of thought and such energy of language that the indolent Charles roused himself to listen, and the fastidious Buckingham forgot to sneer." It was but twelve years before Bunyan's birth that all that was mortal of Shakespeare was laid to rest. Waller, Cowley, Butler, Dryden, and George Herbert still flourished ; and our great Milton sang mid the groves of Chalfont.

In such an era, with such men for his contemporaries, John Bunyan ran his course "a burning and a shining light kindled in dark places for the praise and glory of God."

It was a distinct and well-defined interval between the writers of the days of Elizabeth and James and those of the Restoration. It was the age of the writers who were concerned with the needs of the hour rather than with the purpose of creating and developing the higher forms of literature. The aim was to reach the public mind directly, and so shape the national policy at critical moments in the nation's life.

Of the three outstanding writers of that period : John Bunyan, Daniel Defoe, and Jonathan Swift, who belong to no special class and school, and whose literary genealogy cannot be traced, John Bunyan stands alone, with his vivid descriptions of characters, his quaint turns of thought, and his racy English style. In creative genius he was the most gifted of the three, although in educational advantages he was the least favoured.

Born in 1628, in the Bedfordshire village of Elstow, the son of a brazier, he attended the village school, but to his shame, he had to confess, he soon lost the little he learnt. His youth was spent in excess of riot, and there are expressions in his works descriptive of his manner of life, which cannot be interpreted, as Macaulay would have it, in a theological sense, nor resolved into morbid self-upbraidings. He was an adept and a teacher in evil.

During the civil war the army regulation age was from sixteen to sixty and in the very month in which Bunyan completed his sixteenth year he was drafted into service as a soldier in the parliamentary army. From the muster rolls of the garrison we know that he was on military duty at Newport Pagnell from November, 1644, to June, 1647.

On his release from military duty he returned to his native village, and in 1649 married a godly woman, and to quote his own words: "This woman and I came together as poor as poor might be, not having so much household stuff as a dish or spoon betwixt us both." She brought him, however, two books which had belonged to her father entitled: *The plain man's pathway to Heaven*, and *The practice of piety*, which they read together, and which excited a powerful influence over her husband, as may be seen in his *Life and Death of Mr. Badman*, 1680. The world owes much more to the influence of this godly woman than has been fittingly acknowledged. But for that influence we might never have had *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and the world would have been all the poorer.

About this time Bunyan underwent, like Blake and Cowper, many strange religious experiences, and was led to take pleasure in the reading of his Bible, although he had not yet entered into that deep religious experience, those struggles of soul which he has so vividly described in his *Grace Abounding*. But when that time came, to quote J. R. Green: "He lived in the Bible till its words became his own, and so influenced his style, that his English may be described as the simplest and homeliest that has ever been used by any great English writer, which is the English of the Bible."

The Bible and John Fox's "Actes and Monuments" were, as far as we know, the only influences of a literary sort, except the two volumes already referred to, under which Bunyan ever came until he appeared before the world as an author.

In 1653, he joined a dissenting community, often erroneously

described as a Baptist church, and two years later began to preach in the neighbouring villages. His preaching brought him into collision with some of the followers of George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, and the consequence of this controversy was to launch Bunyan on his career of authorship. For the purpose of advancing what he held to be more scriptural teaching on the subject which had been in dispute, he published in 1656, when he was twenty-eight years of age, his first book : *Some Gospel truths opened*, the first of a series of controversial writings against the followers of George Fox, which he wrote in response to what he felt to be a call to duty. On the title-page of this little volume of 260 pages Bunyan describes himself as "that unworthy servant of Christ, John Bunyan, of Bedford, By the grace of God, Preacher of the Gospel of his dear Son."

This book, published at Newport Pagnell, was a protest against the mystic teaching of the Quakers, and was replied to by Edward Burrough, an ardent Quaker. This reply called forth an instant rejoinder from Bunyan in a further volume of 200 pages entitled : *A Vindication of Gospel Truths*; this second book following his first, as he tells us, at an interval of only a few weeks.

It was about this time, probably in 1655, that Bunyan removed to Bedford, where he soon had to mourn the loss of the wife to whose piety he owed so much.

These first literary ventures are not specially characteristic of Bunyan's genius, but they display the same ease of style, directness and naturalness which he maintained to the end, and are remarkable as the productions of a working man of the scantiest education.

In 1657, his calling as a preacher was formally recognised, and he was set apart for that office. His fame as a preacher soon spread, for as soon as it was known that the once blaspheming tinker had turned preacher, they flocked by hundreds, and from all parts, to hear him, though, as he himself says, some to marvel, some to mock, but some with an earnest desire to hear his words.

In 1658, Bunyan published another treatise, under the title : *Sighs from Hell, or the Groans of a Damned Soul*, on the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, in which we have tokens of his more matured style. A further work appeared in 1659, entitled : *The Doctrine of the Law of Grace Unfolded*.

The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 vitally affected the social

and religious condition of Nonconformists, and Bunyan was almost the first man to feel the change. In the month of November, following the King's return in May, he was confined to Bedford county gaol, for preaching in a farmhouse in the south of the county, and there he remained for twelve years, until the King's declaration of indulgence, in 1672. Upon his release he was chosen pastor of his old church in Bedford, of which since 1653 he had been a private member, a charge he held without State interference for the next three years.

About a year before Bunyan's apprehension he took a second wife, to watch over his four little motherless children. She was a noble-hearted woman, who showed undaunted courage in seeking her husband's release, in which, although she met with kindly sympathy, there was but little encouragement.

As a preacher Bunyan had a high reputation in his day. Sympathy, earnestness, and power were the great characteristics of his successful ministry. He preached what he felt, and his preaching corresponded to the various stages of his personal experience. Many churches were founded by his labours. Dr. Owen assured King Charles that for the tinker's ability to prate, he would gladly barter his own stores of learning. In his annual visit to London, twelve hundred people would gather at seven in the morning of a winter's working day to hear him.

The twelve years of Bunyan's incarceration fall into two equal parts. During the first six years he published no fewer than nine of his books: *Profitable Meditations*, 1661; *Praying in Spirit*, 1663; *Christian Behaviour*, 1663; *Four Last Things*, ? 1664; *Ebal and Gerizim*, 1664; *The Holy City*, 1665; *Resurrection of the Dead*, 1665; *Prison Meditations*, ? 1665; and *Grace Abounding*, 1666.

The last of these, *Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, which appeared in 1666, is the first of the four outstanding creations of his genius. It is in reality his own autobiography, an intense record "written as it were by a pen of fire," and it has been recognised as one of the great books of the world in religious experience, not unworthy to take its place by the side of the *Confessions* of St. Augustine.

Another book, which preceded this by a year, entitled *The Holy City, or the New Jerusalem*, is a kind of foregleam of that celestial city to which in after days he conducted the pilgrims of his dream.

For the next five years Bunyan seems to have laid aside his pen, but in 1671 he broke his silence and published a book entitled *A Confession of my Faith, and a Reason of my Practice*, in which he gives a reasoned statement of his religious opinions. It is a kind of *Apologia pro vita sua*, a vindication of his conduct in resolutely standing by his convictions. In 1672 he published his *Defence of Justification by Faith*, a vehement attack of Edward Fowler's *Design of Christianity*, which Richard Baxter deemed also worthy of a reply.

In 1675 the declaration of indulgence, under which he had been released from prison in 1672, was repealed, and Bunyan was once more exposed to all the penalties of the Conventicle Act. He was arrested and sent to prison for six months, this time in the small town gaol on Bedford bridge.

It was during this second and shorter imprisonment that he wrote the first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress from this world to that which is to come*. This allegory appeared in the early part of 1678. Its fate was to be read almost out of existence. Macaulay, writing in 1854, said that not a single copy was known to be in existence. Of the two issues which are known, less than a dozen copies have survived, of which all save three or four are imperfect. A complete copy of the first issue is preserved in the John Rylands Library.¹

In a second edition which appeared in the same year, 1678, and in the third edition, which appeared in the year following, and which is rarer even than the first, Bunyan made several important and characteristic additions. How important may be judged when it is pointed out that in the first edition you may look in vain for the Wordly-Wiseman. Mr. By-Ends of the Town of Fair-Speech does himself more justice in the second edition, where in answer to Christian's enquiry: "Pray who are your kindred, if a man may make so bold," he gives the following details for the first time: "Almost the whole town; and in particular my Lord Turn-about, my Lord Time-server, my Lord Fair-speech (from whose ancestors the town first took its

¹ A copy in the original sheepskin binding was sold at auction in July, 1926, for £6800. It is true that it was afterwards found to be a copy of the second issue of the first edition, and was on that account returned to the auctioneer, but the high price paid for it is none the less an index of the value now set upon the book.

name). Also Mr. Smoothman, Mr. Facing-both-ways, Mr. Anything, and the parson of our parish, Mr. Two-tongues, was my mother's own brother."

A *Pilgrim's Progress*, as Mr. Birrell remarks, without a Worldly-wiseman, and Mr. Facing-both-ways, would have been sadly incomplete.

Another addition must be mentioned. In the first edition Giant Despair was a bachelor. In the second edition he is married "and his wife's name is given as Diffidence."

In 1684, after the publication of ten editions of the First Part, the first edition of the Second Part appeared, of which a copy is also to be found in the John Rylands Library. Bunyan seems to have had the intention to publish a third part, for the closing words of the second part clearly indicates as much. A third part did appear, but it is an impudent forgery.

The question of the originality of *The Pilgrim's Progress* has been raised again and again. Comparisons were drawn between it and Guillaume de Guilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, which was probably translated from the French by John Lydgate, and printed by Caxton in 1483. This is the only known English edition of the work. In this work we have a vision of a city of the heavens acting as an incentive to a pilgrimage on earth, and in the course of which we come to a wicket-gate and a reception in the house of Grâce Dieu, recalling that of Christian in the house called Beautiful. That there are ideas in common is obvious enough. The quest for a city with eternal foundations was a New Testament idea, as accessible alike to Bunyan, De Guilleville, or Spenser. The House of Grâce Dieu, the Palace Beautiful, and the House of Mercy in *The Faerie Queene* may have been suggested by the old houses of entertainment provided for pilgrims or travellers on their way.

The question is: "Could Bunyan have been influenced by these or similar works?" He was in prison when the idea of the pilgrim journey first laid hold of him. Even had he thought of it beforehand the literature of the subject, which he might have studied by way of preparation, was not easily accessible in those days to the working classes. But apart from these considerations we have Bunyan's own express declaration on the subject in the following words: "Some say *The Pilgrim's Progress* is not mine. Manner and matter, too, was

all mine own, nor was it unto any mortal known till I had done it. The whole and every whit is mine." When the vision descended on him it was a surprise to no one more than to himself. Bunyan himself tells us that it was written without thought even of a possible reader :

I did not think
To shew to all the World my Pen and Ink
 . . . nor did I undertake
Therby to please my Neighbour; no not I;
I did it mine own self to gratifie.

"This is the great merit of the book," said Dr. Johnson, "that the most cultivated man cannot find anything to praise more highly, and the child knows nothing more amusing." Horace Walpole thought he was paying Edmund Spenser a compliment when he spoke of him as "John Bunyan in rhyme."

The general world of readers never wavered in their favourable estimate of the book. Between 1678 and 1778 thirty-five editions of the first part, and fifty-nine editions of parts one and two together were issued, and then publishers left off counting. It is computed that one hundred thousand copies were sold during Bunyan's lifetime.

Three years after its publication *The Pilgrim's Progress* was reprinted in the Puritan colony in America, and there, ever since, it has continued to be published in an untold number of editions. With Shakespeare it forms part of the literary bond which unites the two English-speaking peoples on opposite sides of the Atlantic.

The work was translated into Dutch and French in 1662. The first edition in German appeared in 1694, and has since been followed by many successive editions. Other translations have gone on multiplying down to the present time until there are versions in no fewer than one hundred and ten different languages and dialects, so that it is no mere poetical figure to say "that it follows the Bible from land to land as the singing of birds follows the dawn."

Between 1656, when he gave his first book to the world and 1688, when a few weeks before his death he saw his last book partly through the press, Bunyan sent forth altogether no fewer than sixty different publications, as the product of his pen.

While all, more or less, bear the impress of his genius, the four outstanding works, which by common consent are recognised as surpassing

all the rest in power are : *Grace Abounding*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *The Holy War*, and *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman*.

In point of personal interest and popular power, it is said that *The Holy War* contrasts unfavourably with the story of Christian and Christiana, yet it contains fine passages and lofty conceptions, and is interesting as throwing light upon Bunyan's own military experience. Macaulay's estimate of the work was that, if *The Pilgrim's Progress* had not been written, *The Holy War* would have been our greatest English allegory.

The remaining work, *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman*, though disfigured by grotesque stories, and somewhat coarse passages, bears the characteristic marks of Bunyan's genius, and is a book of power. It was intended to be a companion picture to that of his dream, as the one set forth the progress of a Christian from this world to glory, the other was to present the life and death of the ungodly and their travel through this world to perdition. It is constructed on a different plan, in dialogue form, and furnishes a picture of low English life as Bunyan saw it with his own eyes in a country town, in the degraded days of Charles, and, as such, it has its historical values.

The amount of actual good accomplished by Bunyan's writings it would be difficult to estimate. No man since the days of the Apostles has done more to draw the attention of the world to the matters of supremest value, nor painted the beauty of holiness in more alluring colours, nor spoken to the universal heart in tenderer sympathy or with more thrilling tone.

Although *The Pilgrim's Progress* became immediately popular, and was the only book to be found on the shelf of many a rustic dwelling, save the Bible, the humble origin and riotous youth of its author long prevented its circulation among the politer classes of the land. At length, long the darling of the populace, it became the study of the learned. Critics went down into its treasure chambers and were astonished at their wealth and beauty, and what had been described as "the tinker's dream" became a national classic.

Bunyan's death took place on the 31st of August, 1688, at the house of his friend John Strudwick, who kept a grocer's and chandler's shop at the sign of the Star, Holborn Bridge, two months before he had completed his sixtieth year. He was the father of six children, four by his first wife, and two by the second. His eldest child Mary

the blind child (born in 1650), of whom he writes with exquisite tenderness in *Grace Abounding*, died before her father. His heroic wife survived him only by a year and a half, and died early in 1691. The only known representatives of Bunyan are the descendants of his youngest daughter Sarah. In 1686, two years before her father's death, she had married her fellow parishioner, William Browne, and her descendants form a rather numerous and widespread clan.

Bunyan left a number of works in manuscript, which were given to the world by his devoted friend, Charles Doe, who has been described as a good, simple-minded comb-maker by London Bridge. Soon after Bunyan's death Doe undertook the production of a folio edition of his collected works as "the best work he could do for God." The first volume appeared in 1692, and contained ten of the posthumous works, most of which had been prepared for the press by Bunyan himself. These were followed by *The Heavenly Footman*, one of the most characteristic of Bunyan's works, which was published by Doe in 1698, and by *The Account of his Imprisonment*, an invaluable supplement to his biography, which was not given to the world until 1765. Doe's second intended folio was never published. The first complete edition of Bunyan's works, containing twenty-seven in addition to the twenty previously published by Doe, appeared in 1736, edited by Samuel Wilson. A third issue of the collected works, in two folio volumes, with a preface by George Whitfield, was issued in 1767. Other editions of the complete works are : by Alexander Hogg, in 6 volumes, 8vo, 1780 ; by George Offor in 2 volumes, 8vo, 1853, and again in 1862 ; and by H. Stebbing in 4 volumes, 8vo, 1859. The most authoritative life of Bunyan is that by John Brown, Minister of the Bunyan Church, Bedford, *John Bunyan, his life, times, and work*, which first appeared in 1885, and has been several times reprinted. A new and thoroughly revised and enlarged edition is promised. Many other biographies have been published, the more important of which are by : Robert Southey, James Anthony Froude, Lord Macaulay, George Offor, and Canon Venables.

The following is a CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BUNYAN'S WORKS, for which we are indebted, as for much other information, to the article by Canon Venables in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which was based on that drawn up by Charles Doe and published in the first issue of the *Heavenly Footman*, 1698 :—

1. "Some Gospel Truths opened," 1656.
2. "A Vindication of 'Some Gospel Truths opened,'" 1656.
3. "A few Sighs from Hell, or the Groans of a Damned Soul," 1658.
4. "The Doctrine of the Law and Grace unfolded," 1659.
5. "Profitable Meditations, fitted to Man's different Conditions," 1661.
6. "I will pray with the Spirit and with the Understanding also," 1663.
7. "Christian Behaviour, being the Fruits of True Christianity," 1663.
8. "The Four Last Things," 1664.
9. "Ebal and Gerizim," 1664.
10. "Prison Meditations," ?1665.
11. "The Holy City," 1665.
12. "The Resurrection of the Dead and Eternal Judgment," 1665.
13. "Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners," 1666.
14. "Defence of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith," 1672.
15. "Confession of Faith," 1672.
16. "Difference of Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," 1673.
17. "Peaceable Principles and True" (a rejoinder to attacks on no. 16), 1674.
18. "Reprobation asserted, or the Doctrine of Eternal Election promiscuously handled," n.d.
19. "Light for Them who sit in Darkness," 1675.
20. "Instruction for the Ignorant or a Salve to heal the great want of knowledge which so much reigns in Old and Young" (a catechism for children), 1675.
21. "Saved by Grace," 1675.
22. "The Strait Gate, or the Great Difficulty of going to Heaven," 1676.
23. "The Pilgrim's Progress," 1678. (Two editions.)
24. "Come and welcome to Jesus Christ," 1678.
25. "A Treatise of the Fear of God," 1679.
26. "The Life and Death of Mr. Badman," 1680.
27. "The Holy War," 1682.
28. "The Barren Fig Tree, or the Doom and Downfall of the Fruitless Professors," 1682.
29. "The Greatness of the Soul," 1683.
30. "A Case of Conscience resolved," 1683.
31. A tract on the propriety of women meeting separately for prayer, etc., without their men, ?1683.
32. "A Holy Life the Beauty of Christianity," 1684.
33. "A Caution to stir up to Watch against Sin" (a broadside), 1684.
34. "The Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress," 1684.
35. "Questions about the Nature and Perpetuity of the Seventh day Sabbath," 1685.
36. "The Pharisee and the Publican," 1685.
37. "A Book for Boys and Girls, or Country Rhymes for Children," 1686. (Later editions were issued under the title "Devine Emblems, or Temporal Things Spiritualised.")
38. "The Jerusalem Sinner saved, or Good News for the Vilest of Men," 1688.

39. "The Work of Jesus Christ as an Advocate," 1688.
40. "Discourse of the Building, Nature, Excellency, and Government of the House of God," 1688.
41. "The Water of Life," 1688.
42. "Solomon's Temple spiritualised, or Gospel-light fetcht out of the Temple of Jerusalem," 1688.
43. "The Acceptable Sacrifice, or the Excellency of a Broken Heart," 1688. (The proofs of this little volume were corrected by the Author on his death-bed, and published after his death.)
44. This Last Sermon on John i. 13 preached on 19 August, 1688, about twelve days before his death, 1688.

The following (45 to 54) are POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATIONS, ten of which were included in the folio edition of Bunyan's Works, of 1692, which had been prepared for the press by Bunyan himself :—

45. "An Exposition of the ten first Chapters of Genesis and part of the Eleventh," 1692.
46. "Justification by imputed Righteousness," 1692.
47. "Paul's Departure and Crown," 1692. (An expansion of a sermon on 2 Tim. iv. 6-8.)
48. "Israel's Hope encouraged," 1692. (A discourse on Ps. cxxx. 7.)
49. "The Desires of the Righteous granted," 1692. (A sermon on Prov. x. 24 and xi. 23.)
50. "The Saint's Privilege and Profit," 1692. (A treatise on prayer based on Heb. iv. 16.)
51. "Christ a Compleat Saviour," 1692. (A discourse on the intercession of Christ, Heb. vii. 25.)
52. "The Saint's Knowledge of Christ's Love," 1692. (An exposition of Ephes. iii. 18-19.)
53. "The House of the Forest of Lebanon," 1692. (A discourse on 1 Kings vii. 2.)
54. "Antichrist and her Ruin, and the Slaying of the Witnesses," 1692.

Other posthumous works follow, some of which are lost, or remain still to be recovered.

55. "The Heavenly Footman," 1698. (A discourse on 1 Cor. ix. 24.)
56. "The Relation of his Imprisonment," 1765.
57. "Christian Dialogue."
58. "The Pocket Concordance." (57-58 are enumerated by Charles Doe, but have never since been discovered.)
59. "The Scriptural Poems," 1700. (A versification of the histories of Joseph Samson, Ruth, the Sermon on the Mount, and the Epistle of St. James. Regarded by some authorities as spurious, because they were apparently unknown to Doe.)

ONE MORE LAUDERDALE LETTER.

THE unplumbed depths of the Baxter collection of manuscripts have yielded up another of the letters written by the Earl of Lauderdale to Richard Baxter before the Restoration. In a search for material concerning the activities of the first Earl of Shaftesbury during that period the writer came across the letter herewith printed. Although unsigned, it is in Lauderdale's hand, and presumably is the last of the series.¹

Apparently it came to Baxter enclosed in one from his friend William Bates, which is to be found in the same collection.² Both letters show how important Baxter's adhesion to the royal cause was felt to be, and the implication that Baxter was on the point of throwing his weight in the other scale is full of interest, as is the line of argument by which Lauderdale finally gained the day.

LOUISE FARGO BROWN.

Baxter MSS., Dr. Williams Library. Letters, vol. I., ff. 210, 211.
[Lauderdale] to Baxter, Holograph. Unsigned.

last of March [1660].

Deare Sir,

Yours of the 24 came not to my hands till yesterday & then in such a way as is no great encouragement to me to write, for an unknown porter brought it from I know not who. Always I am glade I had it. And must in the first place returne my most hearty thanks for that undeserved value you are pleas'd to put on me. Your

¹ See the twelve letters published by Professor Powicke in the BULLETIN, vol. vii. (July, 1922), pp. 73-105, and vol. x. (July, 1926), pp. 524-531.

² Baxter MSS., Dr. Williams' Library, letters, vol. iv., ff. 155, 156. The letter, in Bates' hand, is signed with initials only, and dated from London, March 30. Bates congratulates Baxter on his recovery from his recent illness, and continues: "The losse of you in this season would have bin very much aggravated; considering ye powerful influence your counsell's may haue uppon ye spiritts of good men to keepe them in submission and dependance on God as to ye issue of our present affaires. . . . I was moved to write to you by some freinds . . . there being a report . . . that you are extremely opposite to ye coming of——. I beleive my lord whose letter is inclosed can giue you as much satisfaction as any one."

Letter is so full that in a Letter I cannot pretend to give it a particular answer Especially being so straitned with time that I have not above halfe ane howre to write in.

But by the assistance of God I shall compens it wth speedy waiting upon you, & truely I never made a journey with greater satisfaction. I had done it before, but to speake freely Want of money to discharge necessary debts at my Last Lodging (for no manner of provision is made for me) hath hitherto stopt me, but that rub wilbe over next week I hope.¹ And then God willing the week after I shalbe in Kiderminster where I hope none will know me but y^{or} self. Yet something I must needs now say.

Our old obligations to C. R. are in my opinion cleirly on us. The violences of the army first against 11 members & the peers 1647 (w^{ch} I reckon as the root of our evils) and their continued violences 1648. Their pretended change of government & all w^{ch} O. did (of w^{ch} you give ane excellent caracter) all those actions & what ever were the consequents of them could not free this nation of the many oaths of God that they were under. And as for poore R. P. alas he was but ane appendix of his fathers unjust violences. At best he was made by his nomination (if it was not a cheat). And as to the pretended Parl^t which confirmd him where they found him. 1. They were no Parl^t. 2. no Hous of Comons for there were 60 members of Scotland and Ireland who sure had nothing to doe in ane English Parl^t, & those from Scotland were as truely the representatives of Madagascar as of Scotland. If they tooke ane oath at the doore Let them repent who tooke it, since they did not by it ingage the Nation. Many were sword men, most imposed by the pretended Court. It was a strange *Olio*, such a hodgpodg as can never be reckoned the representative of either, much less of all the kingdomes. In a word S^r ane armed violence deprived us of our government & hurried us into confusions. Now it hath pleasd God to give us some hopes That the souldiery shall be subject to the civill power. And then we may by the Lord's blessing hope for a settlement. The question is not what government we shall have (Blessed be God we had one nay we have one if we can be allowed to returne to what we were when violence was first used to the Parl^t). But the question is whether a

¹ Windsor Castle. For Baxter's efforts to secure some provision for Lauderdale see his letter to Swinfen, Feb. 17, 1659, *ibid.* vi., 233, 234.

sword shall prevaile to the apparent ruine of Church & state or if England shall returne againe to be governd by Parlt^s. This I thinke is a cleir duety to be endeavored. And being a duety we need not doubt of God's protection from those feares that are suggested. England I hope is not in a condition to feare a Parlt (especially under the Limitations agreed on) If I know my owne heart I may solemnly profess that the interests of Jesus Christ & the good of his people shall ever sway me beyond the interest of any or of all the men on earth. The dangers they suggest shall I hope be cleirly satisfied. The Eldest brother I know to be a wise just & excellent person. The second I am confident is not what it seems he is by enemies reported to be. Those who Love religion best may have the greatest interest If they please. They are free from the guilt of destroying King & Parlt, God forbid they joyne wth their enemies to involve us in new confusions. That Providence w^{ch} hath so strangely raised the spirits of these nations gives me hope that it is in mercie. For the Lords sake ingage not in anything w^{ch} may hinder you from being the great instrument of union in these Churches. If you should smile again at it, I must repeat it, I am most confident God will reserv you for that worke.

Let me but beg that you will not write till I see you. I have nothing els to Loose, but I had much rather Loose much blood, Then you should use inke in such a cause. Oh, if it were God's will that you could come to London, How joyfully wold I meet you a dayes journey from it. But I dare not hope for it, and therfor if before this day sennet you give me no hopes of yo^r coming, I shall by Gods grace be with you next week after. Deare Sir ingage not in that w^{ch} in my poore judgment may doe so much hurt. Remember Nescit vox missa reverti. You shall not be a neuter Long, I trust to see you as you have been often, a champion for the good old cause. You will pardon what I say in confusion, often interrupted. Debate must cleir one of us, we agree in the maine and I trust we shall agree in the means. Take heed of the man by whom you sent me a message. He hath a heart & a heart & a tongue w^{ch} agrees wth neither. You know I am, Yo^r

Endorsed

For my much honored
reverend freind Mr. Richard Baxter
minister of the gospell
at Kidderminster.

WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNI
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS.

BY A. MINGANA.

WITH INTRODUCTIONS.

BY RENDEL HARRIS.

FASC. 3.

*The Apology of Timothy the Patriarch before the Caliph
Mahdi.*

INTRODUCTION.

IN the year 781 A.D. in the reign of Mahdi, the third of the Abbassid Caliphs at Bagdad, there occurred a two-days' debate between the Catholicos or Patriarch of the East Syrian Church (who was also the recognised head of all Eastern Christians) and the Caliph himself, as being the spiritual and temporal head of the Mohammedan religion. It was a time when Islam was in the freshness of its new faith and animated by the glory of those sweeping triumphs by which the Most Holy (blessed is He !) appeared to have attested the call to belief and the associated call to arms of his new prophet and messenger. With the final consolidation of the new faith and the necessary canonisation of its great document (one book this time, not four), there had come also the dawn of a new civilisation, of which Mohammed himself had never dreamed, and the splendour of Bagdad, founded by Mahdi's predecessor, Mansur, had, to some extent, retrieved the age-long ruins of its neighbour, Babylon the Great. We are close to the days of the prime of Haroun al Raschid, who is, in fact, second son and ultimately the successor of the Caliph with whom the Patriarch Timothy held his debate, and he is actually engaged on a military expedition on behalf of his father for the further conquest of the unsubdued West, at the time when the discussion was taking place. What is more important for us to realise is, not that we

are near to the romantic days of Al Raschid, but that we are very close indeed to the days of Mohammed himself. Less than 150 years have elapsed since the death of the prophet; and it is not only in a historical sense that we are aware of contiguity with the first of the Commanders of the Faithful; in a literary sense we are even nearer still to the Islamic beginnings, for we have no earlier documentary evidence than the one before us of the relations between what is commonly regarded as decadent Christianity and dominant and minatory Islam. The period to which we refer is almost a *tabula rasa* for the history of Islam itself. So Dr. Mingana is directly contributing to Mohammedan history. Nor will the document, which is here published for the first time, be undervalued by either Christian or Moslem, if we find, on reading it, that Christianity, at least in Mesopotamia, was not so decadent as has been commonly assumed, nor Islam so blighted by intolerance, at least in Bagdad, as it has been in later days and under less generous rulers. So we may read the debate with an open mind, whether we are Moslems or Christians, and we shall at least be able to admit from either side, if we take sides with the Patriarch or with the Caliph, that the Christian religion is not a mere collection of traditions flanked and buttressed by obsolete practices and rituals, and that the Islamic doctrine, which has next to nothing to apologise for in the shape of obscure rituals, was, in the time of the early Abbassid Caliphs, undivorced from reason, and not requiring, either first or last, the sacrifice of the intellect. As we read the report of the conference, we shall be surprised to find how keen the two antagonists are to appreciate one another's arguments: the Patriarch praises the Caliph, endorsing from time to time his theology, and we feel the sincerity of his commendations, which outrun any possible cloak of hypocrisy; and the Caliph on his side is so touched by the piety and the eloquence of his antagonist that he breaks out into an appeal which, if done into Latin, would be, '*O cum talis sis, utinam noster esses.*'

"If you accepted Mohammed as a prophet," said the Caliph, "your words would be beautiful and their meanings fine."

On the other side the Patriarch carries the language of conciliation so far as to startle a modern Christian reader; he does not, like Tennyson's Mogul Emperor, say,

"I stagger at the Korân and the sword;"

he uses the *Qurān* as a text-book in the debate, and, to a certain extent, allows the sword as a lawful instrument of propaganda, provided, of course, that it is used, like the Old Testament uses it, in the suppression of idolatry. "Who will not," says Timothy, "praise, honour, and exalt the one who not only fought for God in words, but showed also his zeal for him in the sword ? as Moses did with the Children of Israel when he saw that they had fashioned a golden calf, and when he killed all those who were worshipping it . . ." from which it appears that Timothy would have made an excellent Puritan, and a great preacher of the Old Testament among the Ironsides ; but we must not anticipate the general arguments of the new book, in the desire to assure our readers that they will not find a more temperate and judicious use of controversial weapons and methods than are disclosed in the document before us. One further preliminary caution may be given to those who read the book from the standpoint of what is called Orthodox Christianity. Do not be deterred from estimating the work rightly by a preliminary objection to the Christian representative (for he was the official representative of all the churches), as a Nestorian. It may, we think, safely be said that there is very little in Timothy's presentation of Christian doctrine which is not altogether in accord with Catholic definitions. Once indeed he deals a heavy blow at the Jacobite Syrians and the Greeks for their Patripassian theology, but this objection to a dying or a suffering God may be taken in an orthodox sense. We must not, of course, expect to find him betraying acquaintance with beliefs which are accretions to the Faith on the part of Western and mediæval Christianity such as, for example, the Assumption of the Virgin, of which he clearly knows nothing ; his Mariolatry indeed is moderate enough ; if, however, the modern reader does not ask too much from the Patriarch's noble confession of faith, he will find as much as he has a right to ask or to expect. And now let us turn to our Apology, and see what it tells us with regard to the opinions of the Moslems on the one hand, and the Christian believer on the other. A few words on Christian Apologetic in general will serve to introduce the matter.

Apology or the Defence of the Faith is inherent in the Christian religion, from its first publication and (we may safely say) to the very end of its possible existence as a religion. Our Lord Himself announced that Apology was a prime function of His believers and

followers. You shall be brought before Sanhedrin and beaten in Synagogues, yes ! and before kings and rulers shall ye be set for my sake, to give your testimony to them. In this way Jesus describes what we may call a progressive Apologetic, an expanding defence ; the judges change, the defence will change to match the court. It is a court of Jews to begin with, a court of world-rulers later on. Notice the vision of Jesus in the matter of Apology, and His implied assertion of His own central position in any legal proceedings against you for my sake. And as He is in the dock, and eternally numbered with the transgressors, His followers will be entrusted with two privileges ; either they will be standing in the dock with Him and He with them, or they will be allowed to act as Counsel for His defence ; He does not propose to pass either Jewish or Pagan courts without a proper *Apologia*.

Naturally the manner of the defence will vary, according to the constitution of the Court, and the code of laws which has been infringed. We shall, however, find that in Christian Apologia there is almost always a reminiscence of the fact that the first Court which sat to judge the Christian believer was a Jewish Sanhedrin. They had their own lictors, before ever Roman fasces were seen, and their "forty stripes save one" were the primal condemnation which developed into the "Non licet vos esse" of imperial power. It is important to keep this in mind because we shall see in the document before us abundant traces that the Testimony which Jesus foretold was, to begin with, a *Testimony against the Jews*, and that it was developed along this line, even though the Jewish advocates had ceased to appear, and the Jews themselves had come to be dismissed with contempt by the Christian Orator. One cannot understand Christian apologetic apart from the relation of Christianity to Judaism. We shall return to this point presently.

We were speaking of the Christian advocate under the name of the Orator, but we shall need to remind ourselves that this is just what Jesus warned his disciples not to be. They were not to premeditate, nor prepare set speeches ; their position was to be on the one hand a prepared and preferred Silence, *plus* what we may without irreverence call the *Luck of the Holy Ghost*. The Spirit itself should tell them, at the very time of the inquisition, what they ought to say, as well as what they were to abstain from preparing to say. No doubt in the

first ages, and often in later ages, saints and martyrs have followed the counsel of their Master : it was, however, a counsel of perfection, which soon gave way to what seemed to be a more reasonable manner of affirming or confirming Christian truth ; and so we have philosophers with documents, which they throw at the heads of princes, without waiting for the arrest which they may feel sure will not very long be deferred. Where there is no Court to which they may be handed over, they will make use of literature, especially in the form of *Dialogue*, and say in book-form the things which they would like to say in a full and open Court. Justin Martyr, for instance, does not really vary his theme in passing from his *Apology* to his *Dialogue with Trypho*. Either document will show the same arguments and the same proof-texts. The *Apology* was never recited, and some people say that the *Dialogue*, considered as a discourse between real persons, never occurred. We are not disposed to concede this ; only we are bearing in mind that *Apology* tends to a literary form, and that Justin's case shows it to be derived from an anti-Judaic matrix, even when the anti-Judaic argument may be flanked by, or even set aside in favour of, a more philosophical presentation. Aristides also is a true philosopher ; you can see his Stoic dress the minute he rises to speak ; while Justin is a Platonist, and tries to handle the philosophical argument for the Being of God ; but the dress fits him awkwardly, and he is not really happy until he pulls out from under his robe the Book of the Prophets of Israel.

These preliminary considerations will help us to understand the position which Timothy is going to take up before the Caliph. He will take part in a philosophical and theological argument, more because the Caliph presses him into it than because he loves it ; but he knows that the common ground of their agreement does not lie in the Moslem philosophy, however much they may overlap Christian thought, but in the common use of sacred books as a court of appeal ; and he is sensible that his friendly antagonist agrees with him in this and is much nearer to him than any Chief Rabbi of a hundred Sanhedrins could be. Each of the debaters has enlarged his library of references : both accept the Torah ; both accept the Gospel (only the Caliph puts in a caveat against possible corruptions either of Torah or Gospel, in a sense that would be unfavourable to Islam) ; and what is more strange, both accept in some sense the *Qurān*, or at least the

Christian debater is willing to use the *Kurān* in cases where its testimony coincides with that of the Law and the Prophets. The area of reference, extended in this way, and even when qualified by limitations, is a wider area than could be marked out if the Caliph had been, let us say, a Prince of Judaism. In that sense Christian and Moslem are nearer together than either could be in a debate with Judaistic controversialists. Indeed, the reader, who for the first time turns these pages, will say, we did not believe they could be so near together. Moreover it is not merely an artificial approximation, caused on the one hand by the courtesy and grace of a prince, who has the very life of his opponent contingent upon a word that he might say, but is too good a Moslem to say, and on the other hand evoked by the courage of the Patriarch, and the clearness of his utterance. The two are at one in a number of fundamental points, and this underlying unity so well expressed and so generously admitted on both sides, is what gives the document something more than a passing value. As we have said, the Jews are outside the arena of debate ; at least it seems so. It is, however, only seeming. One cannot keep the Jews out of either Christian or Moslem tradition and apologetic.

In this connection I may, perhaps, be allowed to recall something which I wrote some years since in review of a tract which my dear friend, Mrs. Gibson, had written on what she called *The Triune Nature of God*.

The discourse which Mrs. Gibson published was an Arabic treatise which she had transcribed from an early MS. in the Library of the Convent of St. Kathrine on Mount Sinai. It was edited by her¹ under the title "*On the Triune Nature of God*," and was evidently intended as a piece of propaganda, either in the conversion by a Christian writer of his Moslem neighbours, or as an Apology for Christian doctrine in the same quarter. It was a valuable contribution to our history of early Moslem and Christian relations ; for the date, if rightly assigned, is very nearly as early as the text of Timothy upon which we are engaged. I took exception, however, to the title, which I asserted should have been *Contra Muhammedanos*, as it was not limited to an exposition of the Doctrine of the Trinity, but covered a wider ground of debate between Moslems and Christians ; and I went

¹ In the seventh volume of *Studia Sinaitica*.

on to point out in the pages of the *American Journal of Theology*¹ that the writer, whom Mrs. Gibson had unearthed, had made use of the very same Scriptural arguments in dealing with Moslems that his predecessors had been in the habit of using against the Jews. In fact he had for the most part transcribed and followed the lost book of *Testimonies against the Jews*, with the slight modification that was made necessary by the change in the persons addressed from Jews to Moslems.

My reason for referring to the matter here lies in the fact that Timothy has done the very same thing. One has only to take up such a book as Cyprian's *Testmonies*, with its proofs that the Jews have fallen from grace, that new worship and a new covenant have been called for, followed by the series of Biblical proofs on the nature of the Messiah, to satisfy ourselves completely that we are sailing on the same stream of Christian thought as Justin and Irenæus, Tertullian, and Cyprian. Look, for instance, at the following statements of Timothy :

“O our victorious King, the changes that were to take place in the law given through Moses, God has clearly predicted previously through the prophets whom we have mentioned. God said thus through the prophet Jeremiah, and showed the dissolution of the Law of Moses and the setting up of the Gospel, ‘Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant, etc.’”

Here Timothy is following closely the method of Cyprian's first book of *Testimonies*. He goes on to tell the Caliph that

“We have received concerning Christ *numerous and distinct testimonies from the Torah and the prophets*.” “The Jews did not accept Jesus in spite of the fact that the Torah and the prophets were full of *testimonies about Him*.” These he proceeds to repeat, in the same way as Justin and Cyprian repeat them, only adding to the Christian corpus of Testimonies such corroboration as he can extract from the pages of the *Qurān*, of which he has evidently been a careful student. When he is challenged to say whether the title *Servant of God* is not more proper for Christ than the title *Son of God*, he replies :

¹ For January, 1901.

“He has indeed been called not only a servant, on account of his service, but a *stone*, the door, the way, and a lamb. He was called a stone, not because He was a stone by nature, but because of the truth of His teaching, etc.”

Here we recognise one of the lost titles of Christ, to which a whole section was assigned in the primitive *Book of Testimonies*, but which passed out of currency at an early date, except where the Testimonies of the Prophets conserved it. We do not think that any one will read the Patriarch's biblical arguments carefully without seeing that they are based upon a previous collection of prophecies. These prophecies were collected for use against the Jews to whom the appeal to Law and Prophets was in order; but it must never be forgotten that the Law and the Prophets are equally a Court of Appeal for the Moslems. The only question that can arise is whether the Law and the Prophets and the Testimonies that they contain have been transmitted to us in an exact and incorrupt text. The challenge as to purity of transmission is made by the Caliph in the usual Moslem form; we were surprised to find it so early; the text of both Old and New Testament and the contained Testimonies has been, he says, falsified by the omission of the name of Muḥammad as the Prophet of God. The Patriarch is seen at great advantage in his argument that the concurrence of Jewish and Christian teachers in the text that they use contradicts the possibility of corruption; they cannot have agreed to falsify texts about Muḥammad of whom the early writers have never heard. Let the uncorrupt copies be produced; since they cannot all have been destroyed; and since they cannot be found, it is safe to say that they never existed. There has been no corruption.

Of the general trend of the argument we may say that the debate very nearly resolves into a concession on one side that “I would be persuaded to be a Moslem if it were possible.” Could concession go further than the admission that Muḥammad walked in the steps of the prophets, whether we call him the Prophet or not: or the statement that if I had found in the Gospel a prophecy concerning the coming of Muḥammad, I would have left the Gospel for the *Qurān*, as I have left the Torah and the Prophets for the Gospel? All of this is consistent with “sweet reasonableness.” The defect of the *Qurān* is the lack of evidence for the *Qurān*, in Timothy's judgment. He makes no concession that is not consistent with orthodox Christian

belief ; on the other hand, when he moves outside religion into statecraft, and calls those who oppose in the West the new militarism of the East by the name of "murderers" deserving "fire and hell," he goes further than either a serious Christian or a sober-minded Moslem could follow him.¹ Was it a crime to defend Constantinople against Bagdad, and would it be no crime but the highest virtue to defend Bagdad against Byzantium ? "Murderers" was a two-edged epithet ; either side could use it ; neither side should do so.

Setting aside these instances of extreme political concession and inconsistency, which at least may add to our constant wonder how such tractable and submissive people as the Patriarch represents could ever be chosen as subjects for massacre and extermination, we turn with admiration to the dignity and the courteousness of the Caliph's attitude in debate. If he is pressed into a position in which he has nothing to reply, or where nothing further can be said with advantage, he introduces a new subject, or repeats a former statement. Sometimes, as when the Patriarch, having used up material illustrations of the Doctrine of the Trinity, such as the favourite one (there is no better) of the Sun and its Light and its Heat, makes a noble confession that all such similitudes are insufficient for the exposition of the Nature of God, the Caliph observes (with a twinkle in his eye) that "You will not go very far with God in your bodily comparisons and similitudes." Which, indeed, the Patriarch had admitted in advance, and was ready to concede and repeat, only with the explanation that the creature, discoursing on the nature of the Creator, must necessarily use the materials for discourse that Creation supplies. So they continue their two-days' discourse, agreeing where they can, as on the Virgin Birth of Jesus and the sinlessness of His character (which the Caliph holds it is blasphemy to deny), and differing where they must, as on the Unity or Trinity of God, and on the question whether either God or Christ really died on the Cross.

In the end the Patriarch comes back to the use of similitudes, this time to one that is not transcendental in its interpretation, the Parable, as we may call it, of the Lost Pearl, in a darkened house, on a fog-ridden day. Jesus Himself had played with the Quest for such a Pearl in the Gospel ; but this time the Pearl is not overseas ; it has

¹ Was he perhaps affected by the fanaticism of certain persecuting Byzantine Emperors ?

been dropped on the floor of the house ; many are searching for it, many think they have found it, one grasping a stone, another a bit of glass or the like, while one only holds the recovered jewel. Who shall say in whose hands the treasure lies ? The day shall declare it. When the fog lifts we shall know. We have it, says the Caliph, with a Eureka of his own which has the very ring of reality. Amen, says the Patriarch, may we all be found in possession of it, when the Day of Judgment, of illuminated and undeceived Judgment arrives. The Patriarch, however, was too good a Christian to allow it to be thought that all faiths, including the one which he represented, stood an equal chance till the Last Day. He alters his similitude of the Pearl to prevent misapprehension of the Divine Revelation, as a figure of which the Pearl has been introduced. The Pearl which everyone is groping after in the darkened room and in the fog-laden atmosphere has a luminosity of its own. One can find it in the dark, without waiting for the 'awful rose of Dawn' at the end of the world, in which both Moslem and Christian believe. He indicates some of the ways in which this soft radiance of the Truth discloses itself ; for God does not leave Himself without witness ; there are in all times signs and wonders, words and works of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete. And so the assembly dissolves, the two noble champions withdraw from the arena, the Patriarch first praying for his Majesty and his heirs a kingdom that shall not be moved.

PREFACE, EDITION AND TRANSLATION.

BY A. MINGANA.

PREFATORY NOTE.

I GIVE in the following pages the text and the translation—accompanied by a critical apparatus—of an official Apology of Christianity. The writer of the Apology is the celebrated Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I. (A.D. 780-823), and the man to whom it was delivered by word of mouth is no less than Mahdi, the third 'Abbassid Caliph (A.D. 775-785). There is reason to believe that it was delivered in this way towards the end of A.D. 781 or at the latest 782. See below, p. 220.

The Apology is in the form of a theological discussion between Timothy and Mahdi. It is not necessary to suppose that every word in it was uttered *verbatim*, but there are strong reasons for believing that it contains as faithful an analysis as could possibly be made under the circumstances of the questions and answers of the Caliph and the Patriarch. This colloquy was naturally conducted in Arabic, but we have it now before us in the Syriac style of one of the most illustrious ecclesiastical dignitaries that have ever honoured a high Patriarchal See of any Church either Eastern or Western.¹

It is naturally very difficult to ascertain the duration of the time that must have elapsed between the two days of the oral discussion of the two friendly antagonists, and the days in which that oral discussion was first written down in its present form by the Christian protagonist. From the nature of some phrases used in the text I am inclined to believe that that time could not have been very considerable, and I consider that A.D. 785 constitutes the lowest limit to which we might ascribe it with safety.

I have in my footnotes compared Timothy's Apology under Mahdi

¹ On his remarkable zeal in the spread of Christianity in Central Asia see my *Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, 1925, pp. 12-17, 30, 74-76. See also my *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, 1926, pp. 34 and 64.

in the eighth century with two other Apologies of the ninth century : that of 'Abd al-Masih b. Ishāq al-Kindi, and that of 'Ali b. Rabban at-Tabari. Kindi's Apology—to which I refer by the word *Risālah*—is in favour of Christianity and was written under the Caliph Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-833),¹ and that of Ibn Rabban is entitled *Kitāb ad-Dīn wad-Daulah*, is in favour of Islam, and was written under the Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861).²

I may here note that I believe that Kindi's Apology mentioned by the Muslim Bīrūnī³ and the Christian Nestorian 'Abdisho' of Nisibin⁴ is a genuine and authentic work. His adversary, who Bīrūnī tells us was 'Abdallah b. Ismā'il al-Hāshimi, informs us⁵ that he had frequent discussions with the Patriarch Timothy, the author of the present Apology. The Apology itself makes mention of contemporary events that took place in the time of the author, such as the insurrection of Atābag al-Khurrami,⁶ and counts two hundred years from the time in which the Prophet lived down to the time in which it was written.⁷ Kindi himself being decidedly a Nestorian could not possibly be confused with any other author of a hostile community from the beginning of the ninth to the end of the tenth century, such as the Jacobite Yaḥya b. 'Adi who died in A.D. 974. Kindi⁸ quotes the Nestorian hymn, "Blessed be the one who created the light,"⁹ explains the "sleep" of Lazarus through the Nestorian exegesis,¹⁰ and clearly shows in many passages his adhesion to the Nestorian Christological belief in the mystery of the Incarnation.¹¹ No Jacobite author could possibly have done this.

Further, no other *milieu* was so favourable for the writing of a book of such an aggressive tone as that created by the Caliph Ma'mūn,¹² and no author could have spoken in such a way of himself, of his ad-

¹ I use in my references the Arabic text published in Cairo in 1912 by the Nile Mission Press.

² My references are to my own edition and translation of the work in 1922-1923.

³ *Āthār*, p. 205 (edit. Sachau).

⁴ Catalogue in Assemani *Bibl. Orient.*, iii. 213.

⁵ *Risālah*, p. 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁹ In Bedjan's *Breviarium Chaldaicum*, i, ii, and iii, p. 47.

¹⁰ *Risālah*, p. 63.

¹¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 124-125, etc.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 134.

versary and of Islam in general except a man of a true and noble Arabian extraction as Kindi, on his own showing,¹ was.

As to the distinction between *ṣifat dhāt* and *ṣifat fi'l* they are adaptations to Arabic and Islamic philosophy of the previously known Syriac terms of *dilaita dakhyāna* and *dilaita de-sā'ōrūtha*. Even the present Apology of Timothy alludes to this distinction. I cannot, therefore, see why a Christian Arab author writing about A.D. 820 should not have made use of this philosophical notion which was at home in Christian circles of his time, and in my judgment the argument taken from the use of these two terms in favour of a later date for the Christian Apology² is scientifically unwarranted by the Nestorian philosophical studies of the time.

It has also been urged that another detail might suggest that the Christian Apology was not composed by Kindi but by an author of the tenth century, and that is the allusion that it makes to the fact that the name of Muḥammad is believed by the Muslims to be inscribed on the base of the throne of God.³ It has been said⁴ that since Ṭabari who died in A.D. 923 refuted an opinion similar to this held by the Ḥanbali Barbahāri, the Apology could not be ascribed to about A.D. 820. But is it not probable that such a belief was held also by some Muslims in A.D. 820? What proof have we that it was the Ḥanbali Barbahāri who was the first man to hold and enunciate such a belief? After a careful study of the subject I have come to—in my judgment—the only probable conclusion: that from internal and external evidence Kindi's Apology for Christianity is genuine and authentic in spite of some variants exhibited by the different Arabic and Garshūni MSS. that contain it. The contrary opinion is, I believe, a mistake which should be at once corrected.

To return to our present Apology: I may state with some confidence that the Patriarch Timothy was well acquainted with the contents of the Qur'ān, but his knowledge does not seem to have been acquired at first-hand; it was rather derived from some Christians of his own community. It is also very doubtful whether he was aware of the existence of a Syriac translation of the Islamic Book. The phrase "I heard" and the Qur'ānic Arabic words that he uses in this

¹ *Risālah*, pp. 98 and 135.

² In *Risālah*, pp. 55-56.

³ *Encyclopædia of Islam*, ii. 1021.

⁴ *Encyclopædia of Islam*, ii. 1021.

connection suggest that he was dependent upon an Arabic and not a Syriac text of the *Qur'an*.

The most important verses of the *Qur'an* which he quotes in a Syriac translation are iii. 48 ; iv. 156 ; iv. 159 ; iv. 170 ; xix. 17 ; xix. 34 ; xxi. 91 ; and xc. 1-3. He is also aware of the existence of the mysterious letters found at the beginning of some *Sūrah*s. The usefulness of these quotations for the criticism of the text of the *Qur'an* is emphasised in my foot-notes, but it will not be here out of place to put side by side the Syriac text of the *Qur'an* as quoted by Barṣalibi—a text which I edited and translated in 1925¹—and by Timothy. If both texts are identical there would be strong reasons for believing that the Jacobite Barṣalibi and the Nestorian Timothy were quoting from a text lying before them. On the whole, however, the balance is in favour of the opinion that Timothy's text is not Barṣalibi's text.

Barṣalibi.

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Not in Barṣalibi.

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Not in Barṣalibi.

Timothy.

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iv, 156.

مَلَكُوتُ اِلهٍ اِلهٍ اِلهٍ
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xix, 34.

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iii, 48.

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xxi, 91.

لا مَلَكُوتَ اِلهٍ اِلهٍ اِلهٍ
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xc, 1-3.

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iv, 170.

¹ *An Ancient Syriac Translation of the Qur'an.*

The only old MS. that contains the present Apology is the one preserved in the Monastery of our Lady, near Alkōsh,¹ which may be ascribed to about the thirteenth Christian century. From it are transcribed Seert 65,² Vatican 81,³ Mardin 50,⁴ and Mingana 17.⁵ Apart from Seert 65 which might have been ascribed to the eighteenth century all the other MSS. were copied in the nineteenth century, and if we have a faithful copy of the MS. of the Monastery of our Lady we have practically all the other MSS.

For my present edition I give all Mingana 17 in facsimile. It was transcribed some thirty years ago by the very able copyist, the priest Abraham Shikwāna of Alkōsh, from the above MS. of the Monastery of our Lady, and in my last journey to the East (in 1925) I collated it myself with the original MS. The reader has therefore every reason to rely on the accuracy of the text of the Apology. In some passages my translation slightly deviates from the text for the sake of clearness. The editorial plural is sometimes maintained.

TRANSLATION.

With the assistance of God we will write the debate held by the Patriarch Mar Timothy before Mahdi, the Commander of the Faithful, by way of question and answer, on the subject of the Christian religion.

On the one hand I feel repugnance to write to your Lordship,⁶ and on the other I am anxious to do so. *I feel repugnance*, on account of the futility of the outcome of the work. It is true that I could not

¹ No. 90 (7°) in A. Scher's catalogue in *J.A.*, 1906, p. 57. The reference to No. 96 in Baumstark's *Gesch. d. Syr. Lit.*, p. 217, is a misprint.

² In Scher's catalogue. In my last journey to the East in 1925 I was informed on the spot that this MS. was among those which had been destroyed by Kurds in the world war of 1914-1918.

³ In *J.A.*, 1909, p. 263 and in *Zeit. f. Assyriol.*, ix., p. 363.

⁴ In *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 1908, p. 80. No special mention, however, is made of the Apology.

⁵ In the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham.

⁶ The correspondent of the Patriarch. He was possibly either Sergius priest, monk and teacher of the monastery of Mar Abraham, or Sergius, Metropolitan of Elam.

have acquired a mature experience of such a futility from the single discussion herein mentioned, but I may state that I have acquired such an experience from discussions that took place before the one involved in the present lucubration.¹ *I am anxious*, in order to confirm and corroborate a traditional habit, inasmuch as the habit of friendly correspondence has acquired the right of prescription from very early times, and has thereby received an additional title to existence ; as a matter of fact it is born and grows in us from our childhood, nay even babyhood, and it is very difficult to shake a habit of such a duration. For the reason, however, stated at the beginning I sometimes infringe this law, especially when I am reminded by a wise man who says that it is useless to draw upon that which is difficult to inherit. This is also due to the fact that the subject is to me difficult and is even against my nature, but we know that habit conquers inclination, as a powerful thought conquers a weak one.

We often see that a strong and well rooted branch goes spontaneously back to its former and congenial state after it has been violently twisted, and we do find that when powerful torrents are diverted from their natural channels with violence, they return immediately to their natural and customary course, without the need of any violence. This happens to me in relation to your great wisdom ; to put a stop to our correspondence we must needs make use of violence, but after the cessation of this violence, we go back to our natural state, while love conquers all between us and covers the weaknesses of the flesh which are full of shame and confusion, and also many other human proclivities which are known to the mind, but which the speech conceals and hides under the veil of silence. Such weaknesses are well known to your great wisdom, as if you were their father and originator, and are also known to all the members of the Orthodox Church. Love covers and hides all these weaknesses as the water covers and hides the rocks that are under it. But let us now embark on our main subject in the way sanctioned by our old habit and ancient custom.

Let it be known to your wisdom, O God-loving Lord, that before these days I had an audience of our victorious King, and according to usage I praised God and his Majesty. When, in the limited space allowed to me, I had finished the words of my complimentary address,

¹ These sentences amplify a little the original.

in which I spake of the nature of God and His Eternity, he did something to me, which he had never done before ; he said to me : “ O Catholicos, a man like you who possesses all this knowledge and utters such sublime words concerning God, is not justified in saying about God that He married a woman from whom He begat a son.”¹ —And I replied to his Majesty : “ And who is, O God-loving King, who has ever uttered such a blasphemy concerning God ? ”—And our victorious King said to me : “ What then do you say that Christ is ? ”—And I replied to his Majesty : “ O King, Christ is the Word-God, who appeared in the flesh for the salvation of the world.”—And our victorious King questioned me : “ Do you not say that Christ is the Son of God ? ”—And I replied to his Majesty : “ O King, Christ is the Son of God, and I confess Him and worship Him as such. This I learned from Christ Himself in the Gospel and from the Books of the Torah and of the Prophets, which know Him and call Him by the name of “ Son of God ” but not a son in the flesh as children are born in the carnal way, but an admirable and wonderful Son,² more sublime and higher than mind and words, as it fits a divine Son to be.”

Our King asked then : “ How ? ”—And I replied to his Majesty : “ O our King, that He is a Son and one that is born, we learn it and believe in it, but we dare not investigate how He was born before the times, and we are not able to understand the fact at all, as God is incomprehensible and inexplicable in all things ; but we may say in an imperfect simile that as light is born of the sun and word of the soul, so also Christ who is Word, is born of God, high above the times and before all the worlds.”—And our King said to me : “ Do you not say that He was born of the Virgin Mary ? ”—And I said to his Majesty : “ We say it and confess it. The very same Christ is the Word born of the Father, and a man born of Mary. From the fact that He is Word-God, He is born of the Father before the times, as light from the sun and word from the soul ; and from the fact that He is man He is born of the Virgin Mary, in time ; from the Father He is, therefore, born eternally, and from the Mother He is born in time, without

¹ The Christian apologist Kindi refutes an objection of his adversary, ‘ Abdallah b. Ismā‘īl al-Hāshimi, which was in almost identical terms : “ We never say about the Most High God that He married a woman from whom He begat a son,” *Risālah*, p. 37.

² Cf. Is. ix. 6.

a Father, without any marital contact, and without any break in the seals of the virginity of His Mother."

Then our God-loving King said to me : "That He was born of Mary without marital intercourse is found in the Book,¹ and is well known, but is it possible that He was born without breaking the seals of the virginity of His mother ?"—And I replied to him : "O King, if we consider both facts in the light of natural law, they are impossible, because it is impossible that a man should be born without breaking the seals of his mother's virginity, and is equally impossible that He should be conceived without a man's intercourse. But if we consider not nature but God, the Lord of nature, as the Virgin was able to conceive without marital relations, so was she able to be delivered of her child without any break in her virginal seals. There is nothing impossible with God,² who can do everything."—Then the King said : "That a man can be born without marital intercourse is borne out by the example of Adam, who was fashioned by God from earth without any marital intercourse—but that a man can be born without breaking his mother's virginal seals we have no proof, either from Book nor from nature."

And I replied to his Majesty in the following manner : "That He was born without breaking the virginal seals of His mother we have evidence from Book and nature. From Book there is the example of Eve who was born from the side of Adam without having rent it or fractured it, and the example of Jesus Christ who ascended to Heaven without having torn and breached the firmament. In this way He was born of Mary without having broken her virginal seals or fractured them. This can also be illustrated from nature : all fruits are born of trees without breaking or tearing them, and sight is born of the eye while the latter is not broken or torn, and the perfume of apples and all aromatic substances is born of their respective trees or plants without breaking and tearing them, and the rays are born of the sun without tearing or breaking its spheric form. As all these are born of their generators without tearing them or rending them, so also Christ was born of Mary without breaking her virginal seals ; as His eternal birth from the Father is wonderful, so also is His temporal birth from Mary."

¹ Qur'ān, iii. 41 ; xxi. 91.

² Luke i. 37. Qur'ān iii. 41, etc.

And our King said to me : "How was that Eternal One born in time ?"—And I answered : "It is not in His eternity that He was born of Mary, O our King, but in His temporalness and humanity."—And our King said to me : "There are, therefore, two distinct beings : if one is eternal and God from God as you said, and the other temporal, the latter is therefore a pure man from Mary."—And I retorted : "Christ is not two beings, O King, nor two Sons, but Son and Christ are one ; there are in Him two natures, one of which belongs to the Word and the other one which is from Mary, clothed itself¹ with the Word-God."—And the King said : "They are, therefore, two, one of whom created and fashioned, and the other uncreated and unfashioned."—And I said to him : "We do not deny the duality of natures, O King, nor their mutual relations, but we profess that both of them constitute one Christ and Son."

And the King retorted : "If He is one He is not two ; and if He is two, He is not one."—And I replied to him : "A man is one, while in reality he is two : one in his composition and individuality, and two in the distinction found between his soul and his body ; the former is invisible and spiritual, and the latter visible and corporeal. Our King, together with the insignia of his Kingdom is also one King and not two, however great may be the difference that separates him from his dresses. In the same way the Word of God, together with the clothings of humanity which He put on from Mary, is one and the same Christ, and not two, although there is in Him the natural difference between the Word-God and His humanity ; and the fact that He is *one* does not preclude the fact that He is also *two*. The very same Christ and Son is indeed known and confessed as *one*, and the fact that He is also *two* does not imply confusion or mixture, because the known attributes of His natures are kept in one person² of the Son and Christ."

And our King retorted to me : "Even in this you cannot save yourself from duality in Christ."—And I demonstrated the fact to him through another illustration and said : "The tongue and the word are

¹ Note the semi-Nestorian expression of "putting on, clothing oneself with" as applied to the union of God with man in the Incarnation. In the following pages we shall not attempt to render this expression into English at every time.

² *Παρζῶρα* = *πρόσωπον*.

one with the voice in which they are clothed, in a way that the two are not two words nor two tongues, but one word, together with the tongue and the voice, so that they are called by all one tongue with the word and the voice, and in them *one* does not expel *two*. This is also the case with the Word-God; He is one with His humanity, while preserving the distinction between His invisibility and His visibility, and between His Divinity and His humanity. Christ is *one* in His son-ship, and *two* in the attributes of His natures."

And our King said to me: "Did not Jesus Christ say, I am going to My God and to your God?"¹—And I said: "It is true that this sentence has been said by our Saviour, but there is another sentence which precedes it and which is worthy of mention."—And the King asked: "Which is it?"—And I said: "Our Lord said to His Disciples 'I am going to My Father and to your Father, and to My God and your God.'"—And our King said: "How can this be? If He says that He is His Father, He is not His God, and if He is His God, He is not His Father; what is this contradiction?"²—And I replied to him: "There is no contradiction here, O God-loving King. The fact that He is His Father by nature does not carry with it that He is also His God by nature, and the fact that He is His God by nature does not imply that He is His Father by nature. He is, however, from His Father by the nature of the Word, born of Him from eternity, as light from the sun and word from the soul; and God is His God by the nature of the humanity of the Word born of Mary. Man is living and rational only by the nature of his soul, which has indeed received from God a living and rational nature, but he is said to be living and rational in his body also, through its association with this living and rational soul. In reality what he is by nature when his body and soul are separated, is not what he is in its composite state when his body and soul are united. In spite of all this however, he is called *one* living and rational man and not *two*. In the same way God is called, and is, the Christ's *Father* by the nature of the union of Word-God with our human nature, and on the other hand He is called His *God* by the nature of His humanity that He took from us in union with the Word-God.

In this way He is then *one* Son and Christ, and not two. He

¹ John xx. 17.

² The Arabic *muḥāl*.

was not born of Mary in the same way as He was born of God, nor was He born of God in the same way as He was born of Mary. So the Son and the Christ are really one, in spite of His births being two, and the same Christ has God as Father by nature, and as God : Father by the fact that He is Word-God, and God by the fact of His birth from Mary."

Our King showed here marks of doubt as to the possibility of all the above explanations, and I removed his doubt through another illustration, and said : "The letter of the Commander of the Faithful is one, both in the words that are written in it and in the papyrus on which the words are written, and our King, the King of Kings, is called both the father and the owner of his letter. He is called its father through the words born of his soul, which have been impressed on the papyrus, and he is called its owner through his being the owner of the papyrus on which the words have been written. Neither the papyrus, however, is, by nature, from the soul of the King, nor the words are by nature from the papyrus-reed, but the words are by nature born of the soul of the King, and the papyrus is by nature made of the papyrus-reed, *i.e.*, from *πάπυρος*.¹ In this same way Christ is one, both in His being Word-God and in His humanity taken from us, but the very same God of Christ is both His Father and His God : His Father, from the fact that He was born before the times, of the Father, and His God from the fact that He was born in time of Mary. By nature, however, He is not a man from the Father, nor is the Word by nature from Mary, but He is the very same Christ both from the Father and from Mary, in the first case as God, and in the second case as man."

Then our God-loving King said to me : "How can the spirit who has no genital organs beget ?"—And I replied to him : "O God-loving King, how can the spirit then do things and create without possessing organs of creation. As He created the worlds without instruments of creation, so He was born without the medium of the genital organs. If He could not be born without the intermediary of the genital organs, He could not by inference have created without the

¹ There is no doubt therefore that the official letters and documents of the early Abbasids were written on papyrus and not on parchment. The Arabic word *Kirtās* seems by inference to indicate papyrus in the majority of cases, if not always.

intermediary of the instruments of creation. If He created without any instruments of creation, He was, therefore, born without the genital organs. Lo, the sun also begets the rays of light without any genital organs. God is therefore able to beget and create, although He is a simple and not a composite spirit ; and without any genital organs and instruments of creation He begets the Son and makes the Spirit proceed from the essence of His person as the sun does for the light and the heat."

And our King said to me : " Do you believe in Father, Son and Holy Spirit ?"—And I answered : " I worship them and believe in them."—Then our King said : " You, therefore, believe in three Gods ?"—And I replied to our King : " The belief in the above three names, consists in the belief in three Persons, and the belief in these three Persons consists in the belief in one God. The belief in the above three names, consists therefore in the belief in one God. We believe in Father, Son and Holy Spirit as one God. So Jesus Christ taught us, and so we have learnt from the revelation of the books of the prophets. As our God-loving King is one King with his word and his spirit, and not three Kings, and as no one is able to distinguish him, his word and his spirit from himself and no one calls him King independently of his word and his spirit, so also God is one God with His Word and His Spirit, and not three Gods, because the Word and the Spirit of God are inseparable from Him. And as the sun with its light and its heat is not called three suns but one sun, so also God with His Word and His Spirit is not three Gods but is and is called one God."

Then the King said to me : " What is my word ? It is something that vanishes and disappears."—And I replied to him : " As God does not resemble in His nature the Commander of the Faithful, so also the Word and the Spirit of God do not resemble those of the Commander of the Faithful. We men sometimes exist and sometimes do not exist because we have a beginning and an end, as we are created. This is the case also with our word and our spirit, which at one time exist, and at another cease to exist, and have a beginning and an end. God, however, who is higher and more exalted than all is not like us in this respect, but He exists divinely and eternally, and there was no time in which He was not, nor will there be a time in which He will not be. He has no beginning and no end, because He is not created.

In the same way are His Word and His Spirit, who exist divinely and eternally, that is to say without beginning and without end, as God with God, without any separation."

Then our King said to me: "Are the Word and the Spirit not separable from God?"—And I replied: "No: never. As light and heat are not separable from the sun, so also (the Word) and the Spirit of God are not separable from Him. If one separates from the sun its light and its heat, it will immediately become neither light-giver nor heat-producer, and consequently it will cease to be sun, so also if one separates from God His Word and His Spirit, He will cease to be a rational and living God, because the one who has no reason is called irrational,¹ and the one who has no spirit² is dead. If one, therefore, ventures to say about God that there was a time in which He had no Word and no Spirit, such a one would blaspheme against God, because his saying would be equivalent to asserting that there was a time in which God had no reason and no life. If such adjectives are considered as blasphemy and abomination when said of God, it follows that God begat the Word in a divine and eternal way, as a source of wisdom, and had the Spirit proceeding from Him eternally and without any beginning, as a source of life. God is indeed the eternal source of life and wisdom; as a source of wisdom He imparts by His Word wisdom to all the rational beings, and as a source of life He causes life to flow to all the living beings, celestial and terrestrial alike, because God is the creator of everything by means of His Word and His Spirit."

And our powerful King said to me: "Tell me from which books you can show me that the Word and the Spirit are eternally with God."—And I replied: "We can demonstrate this first from the Books of the Prophets, and afterwards from the Gospel. As to the prophets, David said first thus: 'By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all His hosts by the Spirit of His mouth.'³ In another passage he glorifies the Word of God as if it were God, in the following terms: 'I shall glorify the Word of God.'⁴ Further, in speaking of the resurrection of the dead he said of God, 'Thou sendest

¹ In Syr. the same root *milltha* is used to express both "reason" and "word." The author plays on this identical root in a constant manner.

² In Syr. "Spirit" which means also "soul."

³ Ps. xxxiii. 6 (Peshitta).

⁴ Ps. lvi. 10 (Peshitta).

forth Thy Spirit and they are created, and Thou renewest the face of the earth.’¹ The prophet David would not have glorified a created being, nor would he have called creator and renewer some one who was created and fashioned. In another passage he speaks of the Word of God as itself God, without a beginning and without an end, because he writes :² ‘Thou art for ever, O Lord, and Thy Word standeth in Heaven ;’ he teaches here that as God is for ever in heaven, so also the Word of God is in heaven for ever and without an end, because he who is without an end is also without a beginning, and he who has no beginning has no end.

“Afterwards comes the prophet Isaiah who speaks of the Word of God in a way similar to that of David, in saying thus : ‘The grass withereth and the flower fadeth, but the Word of our God standeth for ever.’³ Other prophets also speak of this point in several passages. So far as the Gospel is concerned we gather the same conclusion from the following passage : ‘In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.’⁴ We are taught here two things : that the Word is eternal, and that the same Word is God by nature. All these the Gospel teaches about the Word, and it teaches us also the same thing concerning the Spirit in the very same chapter, ‘In Him was life,’⁵ *i.e.*, in the same Word—God was ‘life’ which means “(in Him) was Spirit” or “He was it.” In saying of the Word in the first passage that He “was,” does not refer to any beginning, and so is the case with regard to the second passage referring to the Spirit. Indeed the Gospel in using this “was” is not speaking of His creation but of His eternity. If Spirit is life and life is eternally in God, the Spirit is consequently eternally in God. And Jesus Christ is the Spirit of God, and the life and light of men.

“In one passage Christ said to His Father, ‘And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with Thine own Self with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was.’⁶ He said here, ‘with the glory which He *had* before the world was, and not which *came* to Him ;’ if He had said, ‘With the glory which *had come to me* with Thee before the world was,’ He would have taught us that He was a created and made being, but since He said ‘with the glory which *I had* with Thee before the world was’ He clearly taught us that while

¹ Ps. civ. 30.² Ps. cxix. 89 (Peshitta).³ Is. xl. 8.⁴ John i. 1.⁵ John i. 4.⁶ John xvii. 5.

all the world was created He alone was without a beginning, as the Word of God.

“In another passage while He was about to ascend to Heaven He said to His disciples, ‘Go and teach all nations and baptise them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’¹ Jesus Christ would not have allowed Himself to count created and made beings with the One who is uncreated and unmade, and temporal beings with the One who has no beginning and no end. As the wise men do not mix promiscuously with one another in one count sun, stone and horse, nor pearl, gold and brass, but say, for instance, in a separate way : three pearls, or three stars, as these are similar in nature and resemble one another in everything, so also would the case be with Jesus Christ, who would have never allowed himself to count with God His Word and His Spirit, if He did not know that they were equal to God in nature. How could He have made equal in honour and royal power the one who was not God in nature with the one who was, or the one who was temporal with the one who was eternal ? It is not the servants who participate in royal honour but the children ”²

Then our King said to me : “What is the difference between the Son and the Spirit, and how is it that the Son is not the Spirit nor the Spirit the Son ? Since you said that God is not composite there should not be any difference with God in the fact that He begets and makes proceed from Himself.”—And I replied to our King as follows : “There is no difference, O King, between the persons in their relation to one another, except that the first is not begotten, and the second is begotten, and the third proceeds ; and God consists in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit ; and He begat the former and made the latter proceed from Him from eternity without any bodily cleavage and separation in the organs and places that are fit for generation and procession. God is not composite and has no body, and since the terms ‘cleavage’ and ‘organs’ imply a body—because all bodies are composite—it follows that ‘cleavage’ and ‘organs’ do not apply to God ; indeed God, being without body and not being composite, is thought of without any notion of ‘cleavage’ and ‘separation.’

¹ Matt. xxviii. 19.

² Most of the above Biblical passages are quoted also by the Christian apologist Kindi in his *Risālah*, pp. 43, 147-148.

Reason comes out of the soul—because mind comes out of the soul—but it comes out of it without any suffering, without any cleavage, and without the instrumentality of organs. The very same sun begets light and makes heat come out of it, without any cleavage or bodily separation, and in a way that all the light is from all the sun and all the heat from all its spheric globe.

“All the reason and all the mind are from all the soul, the former by process of birth and the second by that of procreation, as all the heat and all the mind are with the sun and with the soul respectively, and all the heat and all the reason are with the soul, with the sun, and with ourselves, while light does not become heat nor heat light. This very method applies to the Word and the Spirit: the former is begotten, and the latter proceeds from God and the Father, not through any material cleavage, and any suffering, nor from a special organ, but as from an uncircumscribed being: an uncircumscribed one in an uncircumscribed fashion, and one who is all in all without space and time, in a way that the Son is not the Spirit, nor the Spirit the Son, in qualifications and attributes.

“From the whole of an apple the whole of the scent and the whole of the taste are begotten and proceed in a way that the apple does not make the scent proceed from one part of it and beget the taste from another, but scent and taste come out of all the apple. While scent and taste are mixed with each other and with the apple, they are nevertheless separate in a way that taste is not scent and scent is not taste, and are not confused with each other, nor separated from each other, but are so to speak mixed together in a separate way, and separated from each other in a mixed way, by a process that is as amazing as it is incomprehensible. In this very way from the uncircumscribed Father the Son is begotten and the Spirit proceeds, in an uncircumscribed way: the eternal from the eternal, the uncreated from the uncreated, the spiritual from the spiritual. Since they are uncircumscribed they are not separated from one another, and since they are not bodies they are not mixed and confused with one another, but are separated in their persons in a united way, so to speak, and are united in their nature in a separate way. God is, therefore, one in nature with three personal attributes.”

And our King said to me: “If they are not separated by remoteness and nearness as they are uncircumscribed, the Father therefore,

and the Spirit clothed also themselves with the human body, together with the Son ; if the Father and the Spirit did not put on human body with the Son, how is it that they are not separated by distance and space ?"—And I replied to his Majesty : "As the word of the King clothes itself with the papyrus on which it is written, while his soul and his mind cannot be said to do the same, and as his soul and his mind while not separated from his word, cannot nevertheless be said that they clothe themselves with the papyrus, so also is the case with the Word of God ; because although He put on our human body without having been separated from the Father and the Spirit, yet the Father and the Spirit cannot be said to have put on our human body.

"Further, the word that is begotten of the soul clothes itself with the voice that is caused by the vibration of the air, and yet it is not separated from the soul and the mind, and the soul and the mind are not said that they clothe themselves with the voice, and no man ever says that he heard the mind and the soul of so-and-so, but he does say that he heard the word of so-and-so, and this in spite of the fact that the word is not remote from the mind, nor the mind from the soul, and are not separated from one another. In this very way the Word-God clothed Himself with a body from ourselves, without having been separated in the least from the Father and the Spirit, and in this way also the Father and the Spirit are not said to have put on human body with the Word.

"Finally, the body is believed to be and actually is the temple and the clothing of the soul, but it is not believed and actually is not the temple and the clothing of the word and of the mind, in spite of the fact that neither the word nor the mind are remote from the soul, nor is the soul itself remote from the word and the mind. In this way the Word alone is spoken of as having put on our human body, while the Father and the Spirit are not said to have put it on, in spite of the fact that they are not remote from the Word in distance and locality." The objections and the difficulties raised by our Sovereign have been rebutted and explained in the above way.

After these the King said to me : "Who is your head and your leader ?"—And I replied : "Our Lord Jesus Christ."—And our King asked me : "Was Jesus Christ circumcised or not ?"—And I answered : "He was."—And our King asked me : "Why do you

not then circumcise yourself? If your head and leader is Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ was circumcised, you should also by necessity circumcise yourself.”—And I spoke thus: “O King, Jesus Christ was both circumcised and baptised. He was circumcised eight days after His birth according to the injunction of the Law, and He was baptised while He was about thirty years of age, and by His baptism He annulled circumcision. I do not follow the Law as the Christ followed all the Law;¹ I follow the Gospel, and that is why I do not circumcise myself in spite of the fact that Christ circumcised Himself, but I baptise myself with water and spirit like Him. I believe in Jesus Christ, and since Jesus Christ was baptised I consider baptism as an urgent necessity for me.² I leave the image and cleave to the reality.”

And our King asked me: “How did Jesus Christ abolish circumcision and what is the meaning of the ‘image’ you have spoken of?”—And I replied: “All the Torah, was, O King, the image of the Gospel. The sacrifices that are in the Law are the image of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and the priesthood and high-priesthood of the Law are the image of the high-priesthood of Christ, and the carnal circumcision is the image of His spiritual circumcision. As He abolished the Law by the Gospel, and the sacrifices by His sacrifice, and the priesthood of the Law by His priesthood, so also He abolished and annulled the carnal circumcision which is performed by the work of the hands of men by means of His circumcision which is not performed by the work of the hands of men but by the power of the Spirit, and it is the sacrament³ of the Kingdom of Heaven and of the resurrection from death.”

And our King said: “If Christ abolished the Law and all its requirements, He is, therefore, its enemy and its adversary. We call enemies those who destroy and contradict one another.”—And I replied to him: “The light of the stars is abolished by the light of the sun, and the light of the latter is not for that the enemy of that of

¹ Cf. Matt. v. 17.

² This objection about the circumcision of Christ and the uncircumcision of Christians is also mentioned and refuted by the Christian apologist Kindi, *Risālah*, p. 109. It is likewise alluded to by the Muslim apologist ‘Ali Tabari, *Kitāb ud-Dīn*, pp. 159-160 of my translation.

³ The same Syriac word means both “mystery” and “sacrament.”

the former ; the functions of childhood are also abolished by those of manhood, and man is not for that the enemy of himself ; an earthly kingdom is also abolished by the heavenly Kingdom, and the Kingdom of God is not for that the enemy of men. In this very way Jesus Christ abolished and destroyed the Law by the Gospel, while He is not for that the enemy and the adversary of the Law."

And our King said to me : "Where did Jesus Christ worship and pray in the years that elapsed between His birth and His ascension to Heaven ? Was it not in the house of holiness¹ and in Jerusalem ?"—And I replied : "Yes."—And our King asked : "Why then do you worship God and pray in the direction of the East ?"—And I replied : "The true worship of the Omnipotent God, O King, will be performed by mankind in the Kingdom of Heaven, and the image of the Kingdom of Heaven in the earth is the paradise of Eden ; now as the paradise of Eden is in the east, we therefore worship God and pray rightly in the direction of the east in which is the Paradise which is the image of the Kingdom of Heaven. There is also another reason for our conduct : Jesus Christ walked in the flesh thirty-three years on the earth, O King. In the thirtieth year he repaid to God all the debt that the human kind and angels owed to Him. It was a debt that no man and no angel was able to pay, because there has never been a created being that was free from sin, except the Man with whom God clothed Himself and became one with Him in a wonderful unity.²

"After having then paid to God the debt of all the creatures and abrogated, annulled, and torn the contract containing it, He went to the Jordan, to John the Baptist, and was baptised by him, and thus the One who was the image of the Kingdom of Heaven placed this baptism of His in the forefront of the Christian life. From the day of His baptism to that of His ascension to heaven there are three years, and it is in these three years that He has taught us all the economy of the Christian religion : baptism, laws, ordinances, prayers, worship in the direction of the east, and the sacrifice that we offer. All these things He practised in His person and taught us to practise ourselves. Because He wished to proclaim to the world through His disciples : the Gospel, the baptism, the sacrifice and the worship

¹ I.e. Temple. Syr. *baita d-maḳdsha* from which the Arab. *bait al-maḳdis*.

² This teaching is that of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

and prayer to God, He performed and fulfilled them all in His own person, in order that His disciples might fulfil themselves what they had seen Him practising Himself, and that they might teach others to do the same.

“Further, the worship of God started at the beginning in the East; it is indeed in that direction that Adam and his children worshipped God, because the Paradise is in the direction of the east.¹ Moreover, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses used to worship God and to pray while turning towards the east and Paradise, that is towards the direction and the place in which God had been worshipped from the beginning by Adam and his children, as we have just now said. It is for this reason that Jesus Christ taught His disciples to worship God and pray towards the east. Because Adam transgressed the commandment of God, he was driven out of Paradise, and when he went out of Paradise he was thrown on this accursed earth. Having been thrown on this accursed earth, he turned his face away from God, and his children worshipped demons, stars, sun, moon and graven and molten images. The Word of God came then to the children of men in a human body, and in His person paid to God the debt that they were owing Him. To remind them, however, of the place from which their father was driven because of his transgression of the commandment, He made them turn their faces towards Paradise in their worship and prayer, because it is in it that God was first worshipped.

“Because Jesus Christ saved men from the deportation of Satan, and the Word of God freed them from the worship of idols, He rightly turned also the direction of their sight and their mind towards God and towards Paradise where He was first worshipped. He simply brought back the one who was going astray to the house of his father. This is also the reason why the angel Gabriel, when announcing to Mary the conception of Jesus Christ, appeared to her from the direction of the east as it is written in your book.² Finally, we worship God in the direction of the east, because being light He is more congruously worshipped in the direction of the light.”

¹ That the Paradise of Eden was situated in the direction of the East is the opinion of the majority of Eastern Fathers, many of whom believe also that it is found in the firmament. To it, according to them, the souls of the just go till the day of the Resurrection.

² Kur'ān, xix. 16.

Our King then said to me : " Did Christ then worship and pray ?"—And I answered his Majesty : " He did worship and pray."—And our King retorted saying : " By the fact that you say that He worshipped and prayed, you deny His divinity, because if He worshipped and prayed He is not God ; if He was God, he would not have worshipped and prayed."—And I replied : " He did not worship and pray as God, because as such He is the receiver of the worship and prayer of both the celestial and the terrestrial beings, in conjunction with the Father and the Spirit, but He worshipped and prayed as a man, son of our human kind. It has been made manifest by our previous words that the very same Jesus Christ is Word-God and man, as God He is born of the Father, and as man of Mary. He further worshipped and prayed for our sake, because He Himself was in no need of worship and prayer."

And our King said to me : " There is no creature that has no need of worship and prayer."—And I replied : " Has Jesus Christ, the Word of God, sinned or not ?"—And our King said : " May God preserve me from saying such a thing !"¹—And I then asked : " Has God created the worlds with His Word or not ?" And our King replied in the affirmative and said " Yes."—And I then asked : " Is the one who is neither a sinner nor in need of anything, in need of worship and prayer ?"—And our King answered " No."—And I then said to him : " If the Christ is a Word from God, and a man from Mary, and if as a Word of God He is the Lord of everything, and as a man He did not commit any sin as the Book and our King testify, and if he who is the Lord of everything and a creator is not in need, and he who is not a sinner is pure, it follows that Jesus Christ worshipped and prayed to God neither as one in need nor as a sinner, but He worshipped and prayed in order to teach worship and prayer to His disciples, and through them to every human being.

" The disciples would not have yielded to His teaching, if He had not put it into practice in His own person. There is no creature that has not sinned except Jesus Christ, the Word of God, and He is the only created being who in His own humanity appeared above the dirt of sin. As He was baptised without having any need of baptism, and as He died on the Cross but not because of His own sin, so also

¹ The Arab, *a'ūdhu billāhi*.

He gave himself to worship and prayer not for His own sake but in order to impart their knowledge to His disciples."

Our God-loving King ended the above subject here, and embarked on another theme and said to me : "How is it that you accept Christ and the Gospel from the testimony of the Torah and of the prophets, and you do not accept Muḥammad from the testimony of Christ and the Gospel?"¹ And I replied to his Majesty : "O our King, we have received concerning Christ numerous and distinct testimonies from the Torah and the prophets. All of the latter prophesied in one accord and harmony in one place about His mother : "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son,"² and taught us that He shall be conceived and born without marital intercourse like the Word of God. It is indeed fit that the One who was born of the Father without a mother should have been born in the flesh from a virgin mother without a father, in order that His second birth may be a witness to His first birth. In another place they reveal to us His name : "And His name shall be called Emmanuel, Wonderful, Counsellor, and Mighty God of the worlds."³

"In another place the prophets reveal to us the miracles that He will work at His coming in saying, 'Behold your God will come. . . . He will come and save you. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall be loosened.'⁴ Yet in another place they disclose to us His passion and His death, 'He shall be killed for our transgressions, and humbled for our iniquities.'⁵ Sometimes they speak to us about His resurrection, 'For Thou hast not left my soul in Sheol, nor hast Thou suffered Thy Holy One to see corruption,'⁶ and 'The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son ; this day have I begotten Thee.'⁷ Some other times they teach us concerning His Ascension to Heaven, 'Thou hast ascended on high, Thou hast led captivity captive, and Thou hast made gifts to men,'⁸ and 'God went up in glory, and the Lord with the sound of a trumpet.'⁹

¹ That the name of Muhammad is found in Jewish and Christian Books is the claim made by the Prophet himself in Kur'an, vii. 156. "The *ummi* prophet whom they find written down with them in the Torah and the Gospel." See also lxi. 6.

² Is. vii. 14.

³ Is. vii. 14 and ix. 6.

⁴ Is. xxxv. 4-6.

⁵ Is. liiii. 5.

⁶ Ps. xvi. 10.

⁷ Ps. ii. 7.

⁸ Ps. lxxviii. 18.

⁹ Ps. xlvii. 5.

"Some other times they reveal to us His coming down from heaven in saying, 'I am one like the son of men coming on the clouds of heaven, and they brought Him near before the Ancient of days, and there was given Him dominion, and glory and a kingdom that all peoples of the earth should serve Him and worship Him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, and His kingdom shall not pass away nor be destroyed.'¹ These and scores of other passages of the prophets show us Jesus Christ in a clear mirror and point to Him. So far as Muḥammad is concerned I have not received a single testimony either from Jesus Christ or from the Gospel which would refer to his name or to his works"

And our benevolent and gracious King made a sign to mean that he was not convinced, then he repeated twice to me the question : "Have you not received any?"—And I replied to him : "No, O God-loving King, I have not received any."—And the King asked me : "Who is then the Paraclete?"—And I answered : The Spirit of God."—And the King asked : "What is the Spirit of God?"—And I replied : "God, by nature ; and one who proceeds, by attribute ; as Jesus Christ taught about Him."—And our glorious King said : "And what did Jesus Christ teach about Him?"—And I answered : "He spoke to His disciples as follows : 'When I go away to Heaven, I will send unto you the Spirit-Paraclete who proceedeth from the Father, whom the world cannot receive, who dwelleth with you and is among you, who searcheth all things, even the deep things of God, who will bring to your remembrance all the truth that I have said unto you, and who will take of mine and show unto you.'"²

And our King said to me : "All these refer to Muḥammad."³—And I replied to him : "If Muḥammad were the Paraclete, since the Paraclete is the Spirit of God, Muḥammad, would, therefore, be the Spirit of God ; and the Spirit of God being uncircumscribed like God, Muḥammad would also be uncircumscribed like God ; and he

¹ Dan. vii. 13-14.

² John xiv. 16, 26 ; xv. 26 ; xvi. 7 ; 1 Cor. ii. 10.

³ The Muslims have always believed that the Paraclete spoken of in the Gospel referred to Muḥammad. See *Kitāb ad-Dīn* of Ibn Rabban (pp. 140-141 of my translation), who even corroborates his statement by an appeal to the numerical value of the letters of the word. Many other writers (such as Yahṣubi in his *shifā'*) counts the name Paraclete among the various names of the Prophet.

who is uncircumscribed being invisible, Muḥammad would also be invisible and without a human body ; and he who is without a body being uncomposed, Muḥammad would also be uncomposed. Indeed he who is a spirit has no body, and he who has no body is also invisible, and he who is invisible is also uncircumscribed ; but he who is circumscribed is not the Spirit of God, and he who is not the Spirit of God is not the Paraclete. It follows from all this that Muḥammad is not the Paraclete. The Paraclete is from heaven and of the nature of the Father, and Muḥammad is from the earth and of the nature of Adam. Since heaven is not the same thing as earth, nor is God the Father identical with Adam, the Paraclete is not, therefore, Muḥammad.

“Further, the Paraclete searches the deep things of God, but Muḥammad owns that he does not know what might befall him and those who accept him.¹ He who searches all things even the deep things of God is not identical with the one who does not know what might happen to him and to those who acknowledge him. Muḥammad is therefore not the Paraclete. Again, the Paraclete, as Jesus told His disciples, was with them and among them while He was speaking to them, and since Muḥammad was not with them and among them, he cannot, therefore, have been the Paraclete. Finally, the Paraclete descended on the disciples ten days after the ascension of Jesus to heaven, while Muḥammad was born more than six hundred years later, and this impedes Muḥammad from being the Paraclete. And Jesus taught the disciples that the Paraclete is one God in three persons, and since Muḥammad does not believe in the doctrine of three persons in one Godhead, he cannot be the Paraclete. And the Paraclete wrought all sorts of prodigies and miracles through the disciples, and since Muḥammad did not work a single miracle through his followers and his disciples, he is not the Paraclete.

“That the Spirit-Paraclete is consubstantial with the Father and the Son is borne out by the fact that He is the maker of the heavenly powers and of everything, and since he who is the maker and creator of everything is God, the Spirit-Paraclete is therefore God ; but the world is not able to receive God, as Jesus Christ said,² because God is uncircumscribed. Now if Muḥammad were the Paraclete, since

¹ Kur'ān, vi. 50 ; vii. 188 ; xi. 33, etc.

² John xiv. 17.

this same Paraclete is the Spirit of God, Muḥammad would therefore be the Spirit of God. Further, since David said, 'By the Spirit of God all the powers have been created,'¹ celestial and terrestrial, Muḥammad would be the creator of the celestial and terrestrial beings. Now since Muḥammad is not the creator of heaven and earth, and since he who is not creator is not the Spirit of God, Muḥammad is, therefore, not the Spirit of God; and since the one who is not the Spirit of God is by inference not the Paraclete, Muḥammad is not the Paraclete.

"If he were mentioned in the Gospel, this mention would have been marked by a distinct portraiture characterising his coming, his name, his mother, and his people as the true portraiture of the coming of Jesus Christ is found in the Torah and in the prophets. Since nothing resembling this is found in the Gospel concerning Muḥammad, it is evident that there is no mention of him in it at all, and that is the reason why I have not received a single testimony from the Gospel about him."²

And the God-loving King said to me: "As the Jews behaved towards Jesus whom they did not accept, so the Christians behaved towards Muḥammad whom they did not accept."—And I replied to his Majesty: "The Jews did not accept Jesus in spite of the fact that the Torah and the prophets were full of testimonies about Him, and this renders them worthy of condemnation. As to us we have not accepted Muḥammad because we have not a single testimony about him in our Books."—And our King said: "There were many testimonies but the Books have been corrupted, and you have removed them."—And I replied to him thus: "Where is it known, O King, that the Books have been corrupted by us, and where is that uncorrupted Book from which you have learned that the Books which we use have been corrupted? If there is such a book let it be placed in the middle in order that we may learn from it which is the corrupted

¹ Ps. xxxiii. 6; civ. 30.

² The bulk of Muslim testimony, based on Qur'ān, vii. 156, is to the effect that the name of Muḥammad is found in the Gospel. Almost all the work of Ibn Rabban entitled *Kitāb ad-Dīn waḍ-Ḍawlah* has been written for the purpose of showing that this name is found in Jewish and Christian scriptures. (See especially pp. 77-146 of my translation.) Cf. Ibn Sa'd's *Tabakāt*, i., ii., 89 and i. i., 123, and see the commentator Ṭabari on Qur'ān, vii. 156, and the historians Ibn Hishām and Ṭabari.

Gospel and hold to that which is not corrupted. If there is no such a Gospel, how do you know that the Gospel of which we make use is corrupted ?

“What possible gain could we have gathered from corrupting the Gospel ? Even if there was mention of Muḥammad made in the Gospel, we would not have deleted his name from it ; we would have simply said that Muḥammad has not come yet, and that he was not the one whom you follow, and that he was going to come in the future. Take the example of the Jews : they cannot delete the name of Jesus from the Torah and the Prophets, they only contend against Him in saying openly that He was going to come in the future, and that He has not come yet into the world. They resemble a blind man¹ without eyes who stands in plain daylight and contends that the sun has not yet risen. We also would have done likewise ; we would not have dared to remove the name of Muḥammad from our Book if it were found anywhere in it ; we would have simply quibbled concerning his right name and person like the Jews do in the case of Jesus. To tell the truth, if I had found in the Gospel a prophecy concerning the coming of Muḥammad, I would have left the Gospel for the *Kur’ān*, as I have left the Torah and the Prophets for the Gospel.”

And our King said to me : “Do you not believe that our Book was given by God ?”—And I replied to him : “It is not my business to decide whether it is from God or not. But I will say something of which your Majesty is well aware, and that is all the words of God found in the Torah and in the Prophets, and those of them found in the Gospel and in the writings of the Apostles, have been confirmed by signs and miracles ; as to the words of your Book they have not been corroborated by a single sign or miracle. It is imperative that signs and miracles should be annulled by other signs and miracles. When God wished to abrogate² the Mosaic law, He confirmed by the signs and miracles wrought by the Christ and the Apostles that the words of the Gospel were from God, and by this He abrogated the words of the Torah and the first miracles.³ Similarly, as He abrogated

¹ Read *samya* in sing.

² Read *d-nishrē*.

³ Muslim tradition, somewhat against *Kur’ān*, xxix. 49, etc., is full of miracles of all sorts attributed to the Prophet. All these miracles have apparently been invented in order to answer the objection of the Christians to the effect that since Muḥammad performed no miracle he was not a

the first signs and miracles by second ones, He ought to have abrogated the second signs and miracles by third ones. If God had wished to abrogate the Gospel and introduce another Book in its place He would have done this, because signs and miracles are witnesses of His will ; but your Book has not been confirmed by a single sign and miracle. Since signs and miracles are proofs of the will of God, the conclusion drawn from their absence in your Book is well known to your Majesty."

And our King asked : "Who is then the rider on an ass, and the rider on a camel ?"—And I replied : "The rider on an ass is Darius the Mede, son of Assuerus, and the rider on a camel is Cyrus the Persian, who was from Elam. The King of Elam destroyed the kingdom of the Medes, and passed it to the Persians,¹ as Darius the Mede had destroyed the kingdom of the Babylonians and passed it to the Medes."

And our King said to me : "From where is this known ?"—And I replied : "From the context. In the preceding passage the prophet said, 'Go up, O Elam, and mountains of Media.'² By the words 'Mountains of Media' Darius the Mede is meant, and by the word 'Elam' the kingdom of the Persians is designated. The Book says also in the words that follow, 'And one of the horsemen came and said, Babylon is fallen, is fallen,' and shows clearly that the passage refers to Darius and Cyrus, because it is they who destroyed the kingdom of the Babylonians."

And our King said : "Why did he say that the first was riding on an ass, and the second on a camel ?"—And I replied : "The reason is that asses are generally more in use in the country of the Medes, while in the country of the Persians and Elamites camels are more in evidence. Through animals the prophet referred to countries, and through countries to the powers and kingdoms which were to rise in them. Further, because the kingdom of the Medes was to be weak and indolent while that of the Persians or Elamites was to be

prophet. Pp. 30-60 of my edition of Ibn Rabban's *Apology*, the *Kitāb ad-Dīn wad-Daulah*, have been written for this purpose. The extent to which later tradition amplified this fabulous theme may be gauged by the references given in Wensinck's *Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, pp. 165-168. The theme of the lack of miracles on the part of the Prophet is emphasised by the Christian apologist Kindi, *Risālah*, pp. 62 sqq. and 67.

¹ Read *i-Parsāyē*.

² Is. xxi. 2.

strong and valiant, God alluded to the kingdom of the Medes through the weak ass, and to that of Elamite and Persians through the valiant camel. In the Book of Daniel also God alluded to the kingdom of the Medes through the indolent bear, and to that of the Elamites and Persians through the valiant leopard.¹ Again, in the vision of the King Nebuchadnezzar God symbolised the kingdom of the Medes in the malleable silver, while that of the Persians and Elamites in the strong brass.² In this same way the prophet alluded to the kingdom of Media through the ass, and to that of Elam through the camel."

And our King said to me : "The rider on the ass is Jesus and the rider on the camel is Muḥammad."—And I answered his Majesty : "O our God-loving King, neither the order of times nor the succession of events will allow us to refer in this passage the riding on the ass to Christ and the riding on the camel to Muḥammad. It is known with accuracy from the order and succession of the revelations to the prophets that the ass refers to the Medes and the camel to the Elamites, and this order of the revelations and this succession of events impede us from ascribing the words of the scripture to other persons. Even if one, through similarity between adjectives and names, does violence to the context and refers the passage dealing with the ass to Jesus on account of a different passage : 'Lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass,'³ yet it is not possible to refer the passage dealing with the camel to Muḥammad."⁴

And our King said : "For what reason ?"—And I replied : "Because the prophet Jacob said, 'The sceptre of the kingdom shall not depart from Judah, nor an utterer of prophecy from his seed, until Jesus Christ come, because kingdom is His, and He is the expectation of the peoples.'⁵ In this he shows that after the coming of the Christ

¹ Dan. vii. 5-6.

² Dan. ii. 31 *sqq.*

³ Ezech. ix. 9.

⁴ A great deal is made of this prophecy of Isaiah concerning the rider on an ass and the rider on a camel in Ibn Rabban's *Apology the Kitāb ad-Dīn* (pp. 95-97 of my edition). The author concludes his references to it in the following words of my own translation : "Are not men of intelligence and science amongst the *People of the Book* ashamed to attribute such a clear and sublime prophecy to some rude and barbarous people? . . . Did not the adversaries feel abashed in saying that the rightly guided prophets of the family of Isaac prophesied about the Kings of Babylon, Media, Persia, and Khuzistān, and neglected to mention such an eminent Prophet and such a great and Abrahamic nation?"

⁵ Gen. xlix. 10 (Peshitta with slight changes).

there will be neither prophet nor prophecy. And Daniel also concurs in saying that for putting an end to all vision and prophecy, and for the coming of Christ, the King, seven weeks and threescore and two weeks will elapse, and then the Christ will be killed, and there will not be any more kingdom and prophecy in Jerusalem.¹ In this he showed that visions and prophecies will come to an end with the Christ. And the Christ Himself said : 'The prophets and the Torah prophesied until John.'² Every prophecy, therefore, ended with the time of Christ, and after Christ there was no prophecy nor did any prophet rise.³ All the prophets prophesied about Jesus Christ, and the Christ directed us to the Kingdom of Heaven, and it is superfluous that after the knowledge that we have of God and the Kingdom of Heaven we should be brought down to the knowledge of the human and earthly things.

"As to the prophets they prophesied sometimes concerning the earthly affairs and kingdoms, and some other times concerning the adorable Epiphany and Incarnation of the Word-God. As to Jesus Christ He did not reveal to us things dealing with the law and earthly affairs, but He solely taught us things dealing with the knowledge of God and the Kingdom of Heaven. We have already said that all prophecy extended as far as Christ only, as Christ Himself and the prophets asserted, and since from the time of Christ downwards only the Kingdom of God is being preached, as Jesus Christ taught, it is superfluous that after the adorable Incarnation of Christ we should accept and acknowledge another prophecy and another prophet. A good and praiseworthy order of things is that which takes us up from the bottom to the top, from the human to the divine things, and from the earthly to the heavenly things ; but an order which would lower us from top to bottom, from divine to worldly, and from heavenly to earthly, things, is bad and blameworthy."

And our victorious King said to me : "Why do you worship the Cross ?"—And I replied : "First because it is the cause of life."—

¹ Dan. ix. 24 *sqq.*

² Matt. xi. 13.

³ The last of the prophets, according to Muslim apologists, is Muḥammad : "If the prophet had not appeared the prophecies of the prophets about Ishmael and about the Prophet who is the last of the prophets would have necessarily become without object." Ibn Rabban's *Apology*, the *Kitāb ad-Dm*, p. 77 of my edition *et passim*.

And our glorious King said to me : " A cross is not the cause of life but rather of death."—And I replied to him : " The cross, is as you say, O King, the cause of death ; but death is also the cause of resurrection, and resurrection is the cause of life and immortality. In this sense the cross is the cause of life and immortality, and this is the reason why through it, as a symbol of life and immortality, we worship one and indivisible God. It is through it that God opened to us the source of life and immortality, and God who at the beginning ordered light to come out of darkness, who sweetened bitter water in bitter wood, who through the sight of a deadly serpent granted life to the children of Israel—handed to us the fruit of life from the wood of the Cross, and caused rays of immortality to shine upon us from the branches of the Cross.

" As we honour the roots because of the fruits that come out of them, so also we honour the Cross as the root of which the fruit of life was born to us, and from which the ray of immortality shone¹ upon us. As a decisive proof of the love of God for all, luminous rays of His love shine from all His creatures visible and invisible, but the most luminous rays of the love of God are those that shine from the rational beings. This love of God can then be demonstrated from all creatures, and from the ordinary Divine Providence that is manifest in them, but the great wealth of His love for all humanity is more strikingly in evidence in the fact that He delivered to death in the flesh His beloved Son for the life, salvation, and resurrection of all. It is only just, therefore, O our victorious King, that the medium through which God showed His love to all, should also be the medium through which all should show their love to God."²

And our King said to me : " Can God then Himself die ?"—And I replied to his Majesty : " The Son of God died in our nature, but not in His Divinity. When the royal purple and the insignia of the kingdom are torn, the dishonour redounds to the King : so also is the case with the death of the body of the Son-God."—And our King said to me : " May God preserve me from saying such a thing."³ They did not kill Him and they did not crucify Him, but He made a

¹ Read *we-azlegh* with a *wāw*.

² This subject of the worship of the Cross is also alluded to at some length by the Christian apologist Kindi in his *Risālah*, p. 139.

³ Here as above on p. 167 the Arab. *a'ūdhu billāhi*.

similitude for them in this way.”¹—And I said to him : “ It is written in the *Sūrat ‘Īsa*, ‘ Peace be upon me the day I was born, and the day I die, and the day I shall be sent again alive.’ ”² This passage shows that He died and rose up. Further, God said to ‘Īsa (Jesus) “ I will make Thee die and take Thee up again to me.”³

And our King said : “ He did not die then, but He will die afterwards.”—And I replied to him : “ Therefore He did not go up to heaven either, nor was He sent again alive, but He will go up to heaven afterwards and will be sent again alive in the future. No, our King, Jesus did go up to heaven a long time ago, and has been sent again alive, as your Book also testifies. If He went up it is obvious that He had died previously, and if He had died, it is known that He had died by crucifixion, as the Prophets had stated before His coming.”

And our King said to me : “ Which prophet said that He died by crucifixion ? ”—And I replied to his Majesty : “ First the prophet David, who said, ‘ They pierced my hands and my feet, and my bones cried ; and they looked and stared upon me ; they parted my garments among them and cast lots upon my vesture.’ ”⁴ The Gospel testifies that all these were fulfilled. And Isaiah said, ‘ He shall be killed for our sins and humbled for our iniquity.’⁵ And the prophet Jeremiah said, ‘ Wood will eat into His flesh and will destroy Him from the land of the living. I gave my body to wounds and my cheeks to blows, and I did not turn my face from shame and spittle.’⁶ And the prophet Daniel said, ‘ And the Messiah shall be killed but not for Himself.’⁷ And the prophet Zechariah said, ‘ And smite the shepherd of Israel on his cheeks,’ and ‘ O sword, awake against my shepherd.’⁸ Indeed numerous are the passages in which the prophets spoke of His death, murder, and crucifixion.”

And our King said : “ He made a similitude only for them in this way.”—And I replied to him : “ And who made a similitude for them in this way, O our King ? How did God deceive them and

¹ Kur’ān, iv. 156. The *Kurrā’* apparently read the verb as *shabbaha* and not *shubbiha* in the time of the Patriarch Timothy.

² Kur’ān, xix. 34.

³ Kur’ān, iii. 48. The Syriac *marfa’* from Arab. *wa-rāfi’uka*.

⁴ Ps. xxii. 16-18 (Peshitta).

⁵ Is., liii. 5 (Peshitta).

⁶ Cf. Jer. Lam., iii. 4 and 30 etc.

⁷ Dan. ix. 26. Read *laih*.

⁸ Zech. xiii. 7.

show them something which was not true ? It is incongruous to God that He should deceive and show something for another thing. If God deceived them and made a similitude for them, the Apostles who simply wrote what God had shown to them, would be innocent of the deception, and the real cause of it would be God. If on the other hand, we say that it is Satan who made such a similitude for the Apostles, what has Satan to do in the Economy of God ? And who dares to say about the *hawārīyūn*¹ that Satan was able to deceive them ? The Apostles drove and cast away the demons, who shouted and run away from them on account of the Divine power that was accompanying them. If crucifixion was only an unreal similitude, and if from it death took place, even death would be an unreal similitude ; we further assert that from this death there has been resurrection, which in this case would also be an unreal similitude ; then out of this resurrection there has been ascension to heaven, which would also be unreal and untrue. Now since the resurrection precedes the ascension, this resurrection is also a reality and not a similitude ; and since death was a reality and not a similitude, and since death is preceded by crucifixion, this crucifixion is consequently a reality also, and not an illusion or a similitude."

And our King said : "It was not honourable to Jesus Christ that God should have allowed Him to be delivered to Jews in order that they might kill Him."—And I answered his Majesty : "The prophets have been killed by the Jews, but that not all those who have been killed by the Jews are despicable and devoid of honour² is borne out by the fact that none of the true prophets is despicable and devoid of honour in the sight of God. Since it is true that the prophets have generally been killed by the Jews, it follows that not all those who have been killed by the Jews are despicable and devoid of honour. This we assert for the prophets. So far as Jesus Christ is concerned we say that the Jews crucified only the Christ in the flesh, which He delivered to them voluntarily, and His murder was not imposed forcibly upon Him by them. Because He, Jesus Christ, said, 'I have power upon my soul to lay it down, and I have power to take

¹ The Arabic word often used in the *Qur'an* to express "Apostles." It is of Ethiopic origin.

² The word "Jew" has been, and is often in our days, a term of derision in the East, where also it indicates weakness and powerlessness.

it again ; and no man taketh it from me.'¹ In this He showed that He would suffer out of His own free will, and not out of His own weakness or from the omnipotence of the Jews. He who when hanging on the wood of the Cross moved the heavens, shook the earth, changed the dazzling sun into darkness and the shining moon into blood-redness, and He who rent the stones and the graves, raised and resuscitated the dead, could not be so weak as not to be able to save Himself from the hands of the Jews. It is, therefore, out of His own free will that He approached the suffering on the cross and death, and He did not bear the death of crucifixion at the hands of the Jews out of abjection and weakness on His part, but He bore both crucifixion and death at the hands of the Jews out of His own free will."

And our King said : "No blame attaches, therefore, to the Jews from His death, if they simply fulfilled and satisfied His wish."—And I answered his Majesty : "If the Jews had solely crucified Him in order that He might raise the dead and ascend to heaven, they would naturally have been not only free from blame, but worthy of thousands of crowns and of encomia of all kinds, but if these same Jews crucified Him in order not that He might rise up again from the dead and ascend to heaven, but in order that they might intensify His death and obliterate Him from the surface of the earth, they would with great justice be worthy of blame and death. Indeed they crucified Him not in order that He might go up to heaven but go down to Sheol ; God, however, raised Him up from the dead and took Him up to heaven."

And our God-loving King said to me ; "Which of the two things would you be willing to admit ? Was the Christ willing to be crucified or not ? If He was willing to be crucified, the Jews who simply accomplished His will should not be cursed and despised. If, however, He was not willing to be crucified and he was crucified, He was weak and the Jews were strong. In this case, how can He be God, He who found Himself unable to deliver Himself from the hands of His crucifiers whose will appeared to be stronger than His ?"

And I answered these objections by other questions as follows : "What would our King, endowed with high acumen and great wisdom, say to this : When God created Satan as one of the angels, did He wish this Satan to be an angel or not ? If God wished Him

¹ John x. 18.

to be Satan instead of an angel, the wicked Satan would, therefore, simply be accomplishing the will of God ; but if God did not wish Satan¹ to be Satan but an angel, and in spite of that he became Satan, the will of Satan became stronger than the will of God. How can we then call God one whose will was overcome by the will of Satan, and one against whom Satan prevailed ?

“ Another question : Did God wish Adam to go out of Paradise or not ? If He wished to drive him out of Paradise, why should Satan be blamed, who simply helped to do the will of God in his driving Adam from Paradise. On the other hand, if God did not wish Adam to go out of Paradise, how is it that the will of God became weak and was overcome, while the will of Satan became strong and prevailed ? How can He be God, if His will has been completely overcome ? The fact that Satan and Adam sinned against the will of God does not affect the divinity of God and does not show Him to be weak and deficient, and the fact that God had willed Satan to fall from heaven and Adam to go out of Paradise does not absolve Satan and Adam from blame and censure, and the fact that they did not sin to accomplish the will of God but to accomplish their own will are a good analogy to the case of Jesus Christ. He should not indeed be precluded from being God, nor should He be rendered weak and deficient in strength by the fact that the Jews sinned but not by His will, and that in their insolence they crucified Him ; and the fact that the Christ wished to be crucified and die for the life, resurrection and salvation of all should not exempt the Jews from hell and curse.

“ The Jews did not crucify the Christ because He willed it, but they crucified Him because of their hatred and malice both to Himself and to the One who sent Him. They crucified Him in order that they might destroy Him completely, and He willed to be crucified so that He might live again and rise from the dead, and be to all men the sign and proof of the resurrection of the dead.

“ Another question : What would our victorious and powerful King say about those who fight for the sake of God.² Do they wish to be killed or not ? If they do not wish to be killed and are killed, their death has no merit, and they will not go to heaven ;³ and if they

¹ The Arabic Kur'ānic word *iblis*.

² The Arabic : *mutawwa'in bi-sabīl il lāhi*.

³ Syr. *ganntha* from which the Kur'ānic Arabic *jannah*.

wish to be killed, are their murderers blameworthy or not? If they are not blameworthy, how is it that unbelievers who killed Muslims and believers are not blameworthy, and if they are blameworthy, why should they be so when what they did was simply to fulfil the wish of the victims. The fact is that the murderers of the men who fight for the sake of God are not exempted from fire and hell; indeed, the murderers do not slay them so that they may go to heaven, but they do it out of their wickedness and in order to destroy them. In this way also the Jews will not be exempted from the eternal fire by the fact that Jesus Christ wished to be crucified and die for all. They did not crucify Him because He wished to be crucified, but because they wished to crucify Him. They did not crucify Him in order that He might live again and rise up from the dead, but they crucified Him in order that He might be destroyed once for all. Let this suffice for this subject.

“Jesus was also able to save Himself from the Jews, if He had wished to do so. This is known first from the fact that on several occasions they ventured to seize Him, but because He did not wish to be seized by them, no one laid hands on Him. It is also known by the fact that while He was hanging on the cross, He moved the heavens, shook the earth, darkened the sun, blood-reddened the moon, rent the stones, opened the graves, and gave life to the dead that were in them. He who was able to do all these things in such a divine way, was surely able to save Himself from the Jews. And He who rescued from the mouth of Sheol in such a wonderful way the temple of His humanity after it had lain therein for three days and three nights, was surely able to save and rescue the very same temple from the unjust Jews, but if He had saved it He would not have been crucified, and if He had not been crucified He would not have died, and if He had not died He would not have risen up to immortal life, and if He had not risen up to immortal life, the children of men would have remained without a sign and a decisive proof of the immortal life.

“To-day because of the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead the eyes of all the children of men look towards an immortal life, and consequently in order that this expectation of the immortal life and of the world to come might be indelibly impressed upon mankind, it was right that Jesus Christ should rise from the dead; but in order that He might rise from the dead, it was right that He should first die, and in

order that He might truly die it was imperative that His death should have been first witnessed by all, as His resurrection was witnessed by all. This is why He died by crucifixion. If He were to suffer, to be crucified and die before all, when He had to rise from the dead His resurrection would also be believed by all. Immortal life is thus the fruit of the crucifixion, and the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead—a resurrection which all believers expect—is the outcome of the death on the cross.

“If He had delivered Himself from the hands of His crucifiers, He would have brought profit to Himself alone, and would have been of no use to the rest of mankind, like Enoch and Elijah who are kept in Paradise beyond the reach of death for their exclusive benefit, but now that He delivered Himself into the hands of crucifiers, and they dared to kill Him on their own account, He conquered death after three days and three nights, rose up to immortal life and brought profit first to His own self and then to all creatures, and He became the sign and proof of resuscitation and resurrection to all rational beings. He put His wish into practice in an Economy full of wisdom, and His crucifiers cannot be absolved from blame any more than the brothers of Joseph can be absolved from blame.

“When Joseph was sold by his brothers as a slave to some men, and he afterwards rose up from slavery to the government of Egypt, it was not the aim of those who sold him that he should govern Egypt. If they had dreamed of this they would never have sold him into slavery. Indeed, those who were unable to bear the recital of Joseph’s dreams on account of their intense jealousy and violent envy, how could they have borne seeing him at the head of a Government. They sold him into slavery but God, because of the injustice done to him by his brothers, raised him from slavery to power. This analogy applies to the Jews and to Satan their teacher: if they had known that Christ would rise again to life from the dead and ascend from earth to heaven after His crucifixion, they would never have induced themselves to crucify Him, but they crucified Him out of their own wicked will.”

“What would you say to this, O King of Kings: If your Majesty had a house and wanted to pull it down in order to rebuild it again, if an enemy came and pulled it down and burned it with fire, would you give thanks to that enemy for his action in pulling down the house, or

would you not rather inflict punishment on him, as on one who had demolished and burned a house belonging to your Majesty ?"—And our King replied : " The one who would do such a thing would deserve a painful death "—And I then answered : " So also the Jews deserve all kinds of woes, because they wished to demolish and destroy the temple of the Word of God, which was anointed and confirmed by the Holy Spirit, which was divinely fashioned without the intervention of man from a holy virgin, and which God raised afterwards to heaven. God showed in all this its thorough distinction from, and its high superiority over, all else. As the heaven is high above the earth, the temple of the Word of God is greater and more distinguished than all angels and children of men. If Jesus Christ is in heaven and heaven is the throne of God, it follows that Jesus Christ sat on the throne of God."

And our King said to me : " Who gave you the Gospel ?"—And I replied to his Majesty : " Our Lord Jesus Christ "—And our victorious King asked : " Was it before or after His ascension to heaven ?"—And I replied to him : " Before His ascension to heaven. As the Gospel is the narrative of the Economy of the works and words of Jesus Christ, and as the works of Jesus Christ were done and His concrete words were uttered before His ascension to heaven, it follows that the Gospel was delivered to us before His ascension to heaven. Further, if the Gospel is the proclamation of the Kingdom of Heaven, and this proclamation of the Kingdom of Heaven has been delivered to us by the mouth of our Lord, it follows that the Gospel was also delivered to us by the mouth of our Lord."

And our King, invested with power, said to me : " Was not a part of the Gospel written by Matthew, another part by Mark, a third part by Luke, and a fourth part by John ?"—And I replied to his Majesty : " It is true, O our King, that these four men wrote the Gospel. They did not write it, however, out of their own head nor from the fancies of their mind. Indeed they had no literary attainments of any kind, and by profession they were generally fishermen, shoemakers or tentmakers. They wrote and transmitted to us what they had heard and learned from Jesus Christ, who had taught them in actions and words during all the time He was walking with them in the flesh on the earth, and what the Spirit-Paraclete had reminded them of."

And our King said to me : " Why are they different from one another and contradict one another ? "—And I answered his Majesty : " It is true that there is difference between their words, as to contradiction there is not any between them, not even in a single case. Different people write differently even on the creation of God, the Lord of all : some of them speak of the great height of heaven, some others of the brilliant rays of the sun, some others of the wonderful phases of the moon, some others of the fine beauty of the stars, some others of the atmosphere, some others of the land and sea, and some others of some other topics. Further, among the people who write on heaven alone some speak of its immense height and some others of the swiftness of its movement, and among those who speak of the sun alone, some write on the high and dazzling resplendence of its light, some others on its heat, some others on the roundness of its sphere, some others on its purity and clearness, and some others on its multitudinous powers and effects.

" Let your Majesty order some men to write on the topic of the resplendent glory of your Majesty, and some others on the great quantity of your gold and silver, and some others on the lustre of your pearls and precious stones, and some others on the beauty and fine features of the face of your Majesty, and some others on the power, might and strength of your Kingdom, and some others on the wisdom and intelligence of your Majesty, and yet some others on your gentleness, virtue, and piety. In what they will write there might be differences of words in their statements of facts, but there will not be any contradiction between them, not even in a single item. They will all be right in all that they will write, although some of them might omit some items, because there is no one who is able to speak with accuracy of everything dealing with the works of God nor with the greatness of the glory of your Majesty. The above applies to what the evangelists wrote concerning the words, deeds, and natures of Jesus Christ. There are here and there differences in their statements, but as to contradictions there are none whatever. The four of them write in the same way and without discrepancies and differences on the main topics of His conception, birth, baptism, teaching, passion on the cross, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension to heaven."

And our powerful King said to me : " You should know, O Catholics, that as God gave the law through the prophet Moses and

the Gospel through the Christ, so He gave the *furkān*¹ through Muḥammad"—And I replied: "O my victorious King, the changes that were to take place in the law given through Moses, God had clearly predicted previously through the prophets whom we have mentioned. God said thus through the prophet Jeremiah and showed the dissolution of the law of Moses and the setting up of the Gospel, 'Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, which covenant they nullified, and I also despised them, saith the Lord: but this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel. After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their minds and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour nor his brother, saying. "Know the Lord," for they shall all know me from the least of them unto the greatest of them.'² In the above words God demonstrated both the dissolution of the law of Moses and the setting up of the Gospel.

"Through another prophet, called Joel, God disclosed the signs which would occur at the time of the dissolution of the Torah and the setting up of the Gospel, and the signs concerning the Spirit-Paraclete which the Apostles, the commanders of the army of the Gospel, were to receive, because He said through him, 'And afterwards I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And on my servants and on my hand-maidens I will pour my spirit in those days.'³ This is said of the Spirit-Paraclete who descended on the Apostles after the ascension of Jesus to heaven, according to the promise that He had previously given. And the prophet adds, 'And I will show wonders in the

¹ I.e. the Kur'ān. This Kur'ānic word is the Syriac *furkāna*, "salvation."

² Jer. xxxi. 32-34. This prophecy is with much ingenuity ascribed to Muḥammad and to Islam by the Muslim apologist, 'Alī b. Rabban Ṭabari, who concludes his statement as follows: "These meanings cannot be ascribed to any other besides the Muslims." *Kitāb ad Dīn*, p. 125 of my translation.

³ Joel ii. 28-29.

heavens and the earth, blood and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood.’¹ All this took place at the Passion of Jesus Christ on the Cross. And he further adds, ‘Before the great and the terrible day of the Lord;’ he calls the ‘great and terrible day of the Lord,’² the day on which the Word-God will appear in our flesh with great power and glory of angels, and the day on which the stars will fall from heaven, as Jesus Himself said in the Gospel.’³ And the prophet further adds, ‘Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved,’ that is to say whosoever shall receive the Gospel of God shall live an everlasting life.

“God, therefore, pointed clearly to the transition from the Law to the Gospel when He showed us a new covenant, and signs, witnessed by men, that appeared in heaven and earth, in sun, moon, and stars, and when He showed us the gifts of the Holy Spirit which He imparted to the Apostles: wonders, signs, and miracles. God nowhere showed such irrefragable signs for the transition from the Gospel to something else. The Law that was given by Moses was the symbol of the Gospel, and the Gospel is the symbol of the Kingdom of Heaven, and there is nothing higher than the Kingdom of Heaven.”

And our powerful King said to me: “Did not God say clearly to the children of Israel, ‘I will raise you up a prophet from among your brethren like unto me.’⁴ Who are the brethren of the children of Israel besides the Arabs,⁵ and who is the prophet like unto Moses besides Muḥammad?”—And I answered his Majesty: “The Israelites have many other brethren besides the Arabs, O our Sovereign. First of all the six sons of Abraham by Keturah are nearer to the Arabs than the Israelites, then the Edomites composed of three hundred clans are also nearer to the Israelites than the Arabs. Jacob from whom descended the Israelites, and Esau from whom sprang the Edomites are indeed brothers and sons of Isaac, and Isaac from whom the Jews descend and Ishmael from whom the Arabs spring, together with Zimran and Jokshan⁶ and their brothers, the sons of Keturah, are children of Abraham. If the sentence of the

¹ Joel ii. 30.

³ Cf. Matt. xxv. etc.

⁵ Lit. Ishmaelites.

² The Cod. repeats inadvertently.

⁴ Deut. xviii. 18.

⁶ Cod. Joktan *ex errore* see Gen. xxv. 2.

prophet Moses refers to the brethren of the children of Israel and not to their own twelve tribes, it would be more appropriate to apply it to the Edomites, because it has been shown that they are nearer to the Israelites than the Arabs. It is not only the Arabs who are the brethren of the Israelites but also the Ammonites and the Moabites.

“Further, Moses said to the children of Israel that God will raise up from among their brethren a prophet to themselves and not to the Arabs, because he says that the prophet whom the Lord your God will raise up will be from among yourselves and not from outside yourselves, from your brethren and not from strangers, and then that prophet will be similar and not dissimilar to him in doctrine. This Biblical passage resembles that other passage in which God said to them concerning a king, ‘I will raise up for thee a king from thy brethren.’¹ As in the subject of a king God does not refer to the children of Ishmael by the word ‘their brethren,’ so also in the subject of a prophet He does not refer to them through the same word.

“Further, you assert that Muḥammad has been sent as a prophet to his own people.² We must examine in this respect the construction of the words. It is said : a prophet from yourselves, from among your brethren, and like unto me. If Muḥammad be a prophet like Moses, Moses wrought miracles and prodigies ; and Muḥammad, who would in this case be a prophet like Moses, should have wrought many miracles and prodigies. And then, if Muḥammad be a prophet like Moses, since Moses practised and taught the Law that was given to him on Mount Sinai, Muḥammad should similarly have taught the Torah and practised the circumcision, and observed the Jewish Sabbath and festivals. Muḥammad did not teach the Torah, and Moses taught the Torah, the prophet Muḥammad is not, therefore, like unto Moses, because the one who was to be a prophet like unto Moses, would not have changed anything from Moses, and the one who is different in one thing from Moses is not a prophet like unto Moses. The prophet Moses spoke the above words concerning the prophets who from time to time rose after him from this or that Jewish tribe, such as Joshua son of Nun, David, Samuel, and others

¹ Cf. 1 Kings xiv. 14 ; Jer. xxx. 10.

² Arab. *Kaum*.

after them, who from generation to generation were sent to the Israelites."¹

And our victorious King said to me : "What is the punishment of the man who kills his mother ?"—And I replied to his Majesty : "And what is the punishment of the man who does not respect the honour of his mother ?"—And our King said to me : "Strokes, fetters, and death."—And I said to his Majesty : "The decision of your Majesty is just. And the man who kills his mother is also liable to the same punishment."—And our King said to me : "Jesus Christ is, therefore, liable to the same punishment, because He let His mother die and so killed her."—And I asked the King : "Which is the highest, this world or the world to come ?" And our King answered : "The world to come."—And I then replied to his Majesty : "If Jesus Christ let His mother die, and through death He transferred her to the next world, which as your Majesty asserts is better than this one, He therefore invested His mother with a higher dignity and more sublime honour ; and since the one who honours his mother is worthy of all blessings, Jesus Christ who transferred His mother from the mortal life to the immortal one and from the land of troubles to the Kingdom of Heaven, is, therefore, worthy of all blessings.

"What should Jesus Christ have done ? While He takes up everybody from earth to heaven, and while, as God said, He causes them to be immortal after having been mortal, should He only have

¹ Great ingenuity is shown by the Muslim apologist, 'Ali b. Rabban Tabari, to ascribe this prophecy to Muḥammad. We will quote him here in full : "And God has not raised up a prophet from among the brethren of the children of Israel except Muḥammad. The phrase, 'from the midst of them' acts as a corroboration and limitation, viz. that he will be from the children of their father, and not from an avuncular relationship of his. As to Christ and the rest of the prophets, they were from the Israelites themselves ; and he who believes that the Most High God has not put a distinction between the man who is from the Jews themselves and the man who is from their brethren, believes wrongly. The one who might claim that this prophecy is about the Christ, would overlook two peculiarities and show ignorance in two aspects ; the first is that the Christ is from the children of David, and David is from themselves and not from their brethren ; the second is that he who says once that the Christ is Creator and not created, and then pretends that the Christ is like Moses, his speech is contradictory and his saying is inconsistent." *Kitāb ad-Dīn*, pp. 85-86 of my translation.

left His own mother in this mortal life? This would have been a great disgrace, but her death which took place like that of every other human being, was only natural and did not bring the smallest disgrace to her. As it was not a dishonour to her to have been born from a womb, so also it was not a dishonour to her to have been born again to eternal life from death and earth.¹ If Mary had not died, she would not have risen; and if she had not risen, she would have been far from the Kingdom of Heaven, and it is fair that Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ through whom the Kingdom of Heaven was revealed, should have been raised up first to heaven. It was, therefore, imperative that she should have died. He who demolishes a house in order to renew it and ornament it, is not blameworthy but praiseworthy."

And our King said to me: "Is Jesus Christ good or not?"—And I replied to his Majesty: "If Jesus Christ is the Word of God, and God is good, Jesus Christ is, therefore, good. He is one nature with God, like light is one with the sun."—And our King said: "How then did Jesus say, 'There is none good but one, that is one God?'"²—And I replied to him: "Was the Prophet David just or not?"—And our King said: "He was just and head of the just."—And I said then: "How then did the prophet David say, 'There is no one that is just, no, not one,'"³—And our King said: "This saying does not include David. It has been said of the wicked ones."—And I said: "So also the sentence, 'There is none good but one' cannot possibly include the Christ. As the sentence, 'There is no one that is just' embraces many others to the exclusion of David, so also the sentence, 'There is none good' embraces many others to the exclusion of Jesus Christ, and as David did not include himself when he said, 'There is no just man, no, not even one,' so also the Christ did not include Himself when he said, 'There is none good but one, and that is one God.'

"The very same Jesus Christ who said about Himself, 'I am the good shepherd,'⁴ could not have said the above sentence, 'There is none good' about Himself. Indeed, He said this sentence about the one whom He was addressing. The latter was thinking this in his

¹ The following pronoun and verb are probably to be used in feminine: *lah* for *lan*, *tithiledh* for *nithiledh*.

² Matt. xix. 17.

³ Peshiṭta Version.

⁴ John x. 11.

heart : how difficult are the laws that Jesus Christ is establishing ! There is none good but one God who gave us all the good things found in the land of promise. As to Jesus Christ, He disclosed to him his hidden thoughts and showed to him that his words were in flagrant contradiction with his thoughts, in calling Him in his words 'good master' while in his thoughts he was saying 'This one was no good,' and wishing to rebuke him He disclosed to him his thoughts and said to him, 'Why callest thou me good with thy tongue while in thy thoughts thou sayest about me, "This one is no good, because He orders me to squander my fortune ; there is none good but one that is God" ' ? Jesus Christ makes mention both of a *good* man and a *good* tree.¹ How is it possible that there is a good man and a good tree, and Jesus Christ alone is not good ? How can this be possible ? "

And our King said to me : "If you accepted Muḥammad as a prophet your words would be beautiful and your meanings fine"—And I replied to his Majesty : "We find that there is only one prophet who would come to the world after the ascension of Jesus Christ to heaven and His descent from heaven.² This we know from the prophet Malachi and from the angel Gabriel when he announced the birth of John to Zechariah."

And our King said : "And who is that prophet ?"—And I replied : "The prophet Elijah. The prophet Malachi who is the last of the prophets of the Law, said, 'Remember ye the law of Moses, my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments. Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.'³ And the angel Gabriel when announcing to Zechariah the

¹ Luke vi. 43, etc.

² That the line of defence of the Christians against the Muslims of the eighth and ninth centuries was to the effect that no prophet will rise after Christ is borne out by the Muslim apologist, 'Alī b. Rabban Ṭabari, who in his *Apology* (*Kitāb ad-Dīn*, pp. 15, 17-18 of my edition) quotes against the Christians, Acts xi. 24 ; xiii. 1 ; xxi. 9, in which St. Luke speaks of prophets. On the Christian side it is well emphasised by the apologist Kindi in his *Risālah*, p. 78.

³ Mal. iv. 4-6.

birth of John reminded him of these very words, because he said to him, 'Fear not, Zechariah, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John. And thou shalt have joy and gladness, and many shall rejoice at his birth. For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and shall be filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb. And many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God. And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of the prophet Elijah, to turn¹ the hearts of the fathers to the children and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, and to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.'²

"Think, O our victorious Sovereign, how the angel called Jesus 'the Lord their God.' It is this prophet Elijah who, as we have learned, will come into the world after the ascension of Jesus to heaven. He will come to rebuke the Antichrist, and to teach and preach to everybody concerning the second apparition of Jesus from heaven. As John, son of Zechariah, came before His apparition in the flesh, and announced Him to everybody in saying, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world'³ 'He is that shall baptise with Holy Ghost and fire,'⁴ 'He is the one the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloosen'⁵—so also the prophet Elijah is going to come before the divine apparition of Jesus Christ from heaven in order to announce beforehand to all His glorious apparition, and to make them ready for His presence.

"Both messengers, John and Elijah, are from one power of the Spirit, with the difference that one already came before Christ and the other is going to come before Him, and their coming is similar and to the same effect. In the second coming He will appear from heaven in a great glory of angels, to effect the resurrection of all the children of Adam from the graves. As the Word of God, He created everything from the beginning and He is going to renew everything at the end. He is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and there is no end and no limit to His Kingdom."

And our highly intelligent Sovereign said: "If you had not corrupted the Torah and the Gospel, you would have found in them Muhammad also with the other prophets."—And to set his mind at

¹ Read *d-naphne* with a *Dalath*.

³ John i. 29.

⁴ Matt. iii. 11.

² Luke i. 13-17.

⁵ Luke iii. 16.

rest on this subject I replied to him : " To the mind of your Majesty, O my illustrious Sovereign—you to whom God has granted that intelligence and broad-mindedness which are so useful for the administration of public and private affairs of the people, and you who speak and act in a way that is congruous with the dignity of your Majesty—it is due to inquire why and for what purpose we might have corrupted the Books. Both the Torah and the prophets proclaim as with the voice of thunder and teach us collectively the divinity and humanity of Christ, His wonderful birth from His Father before the times, a birth which no man will ever be able to describe and to comprehend. It is written, ' Who shall declare his generation,'¹ and, ' His coming out is in the beginning, from the days of the worlds'² and, ' From the womb before the morning-star I have begotten Thee ' and, ' His name is before the sun.'³

" So far as His temporal birth is concerned it is written, ' Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son and shall call his name Emmanuel.'⁴ David and Isaiah and all the other prophets reveal to us clearly and distinctly the signs and miracles that He was going to perform in His appearance in the flesh, and the accurate knowledge of God with which the earth was going to be filled through this appearance. They tell us about His passion, His crucifixion, and His death in the flesh, as we have demonstrated above. They tell us about His resurrection from the dwelling of the dead and His ascension to heaven. Finally they enlighten us concerning His second appearance from heaven and concerning the resurrection of the dead which He is going to effect, and the judgment which He is going to hold for all, as one who is God and the Word of God. O our Sovereign, while all the corpus of the Christian doctrine is embodied in the Torah and the Gospel like a clear symbol and mirror, for what reason could we have dared to corrupt these living witnesses of our faith ? They are indeed the witnesses of our truth, O our Sovereign, and from them shines on us the resplendent light of the duality of the natures of the divinity and humanity of Christ, and that of His death, resurrection, and ascension to heaven. It could

¹ Is. liii. 8.

² Cf. Is. li. 9 ; Prov. viii. 23-24.

³ Cf. Ps. ii. 7 ; lxxii. 17 ; Is. xlv. 2, 24. This prophecy of David, " His name is before the sun " is referred by the Muslim apologist, ' Ali b. Rabban Ṭabari, to Muḥammud himself. *Kitāb-ad-Dīn*, pp. 90 and 115 of my translation.

⁴ Is. vii. 14.

never have been possible for us to stir ourselves against ourselves, and tamper with the testimony of the Torah and the gospel to our Saviour.

“ Even if we were able to corrupt the Books of the Torah and the Gospel that we have with us, how could we have tampered with those that are with the Jews ? If one says here that we have corrupted those that are in our hands while the Jews themselves corrupted those that are in theirs, how is it that the Jews have not corrupted those passages through which the Christian religion is established ? The Christians never have had and will never have such deadly enemies as the Jews ; if the Jews had, therefore, tampered with their Book, how could we Christians induce ourselves to accept a text which had been corrupted and changed, a text which would have shaken the very foundations of the truth of our religion ? No ; the truth is that neither we nor the Jews have ever tampered with the Books. Our mutual hostility is the best guarantee to our statement.¹

“ If the Christians and the Jews are enemies, and if there is no possibility that enemies should have a common agreement on the line that divides them, it was therefore impossible for the Christians and the Jews to agree on the corruption of the Books. Indeed the Jews disagree with us on the meaning of some verbs and nouns, tenses and persons, but concerning the words themselves they have never had any disagreement with us. The very same words are found with us and with them without any changes. Since the Torah and the Prophets teach the truth of Christianity, we would have never allowed ourselves to corrupt them, and that is the reason why, O our victorious Sovereign, we could have never tampered with the Torah and the Prophets.

“ The very same reason holds good with regard to the Gospel, which we could not and would not have corrupted under any circumstances. What the ancient prophets prophesied about the Christ is written in the Gospel about the Christ. The ray of light that shines on the eyes of our souls is the same from the Torah, from the prophets, and from the Gospel. The only difference is that in the first two Books the light is in words uttered in advance of the facts, while in the last Book it is in the facts themselves. What the prophets had taught us about the divinity and humanity of Christ, and about all the Economy

¹ That the Jews and Christians are enemies and that this enmity is a guarantee of the genuineness of the Biblical text is also emphasised by Kindi in his *Risālah*, p. 150.

of the Word-God in the flesh, the Gospel proclaimed to us without corruption in a glorious manner. Further, God, the giver of both the Torah and the Gospel is one, and if we had changed them in any way, we would have changed those things which according to some people are somewhat undignified in our faith."

And our victorious King asked me : " And what are those things which you call undignified in our faith ?"—And I replied to his benevolence : " Things such as the growth of Christ in stature and wisdom ; His food, drink, and fatigue ; His ire and lack of omniscience ; His prayer, passion, crucifixion, and burial, and all such things which are believed by some people to be mean and debasing. We might have changed these and similar things held by some people to be mean and undignified ; we might have also changed things that are believed by some other people to be contradictory, such as the questions dealing with the times, days, verbs, pronouns, and facts, questions which appear to some people to furnish a handle for objections that tend to some extent to weaken our statement. I submit that we might have been tempted to alter these, but since we did not induce ourselves to alter them, how could we have dared to tamper with whole passages revealed by God ? Not only could we not dream of tampering with them, but we are proud of them and consider them as higher and more sublime than others. From such higher and more sublime passages we learn that Jesus is an eternal God, and believe that He is consubstantial with the Father, and from the passages that are believed by some to be mean and undignified we learn that this same Jesus is a true man and having the same human nature as ourselves.

" No, O our victorious Sovereign, we have not changed, not even one iota, in the Divine Book, and if the name of Muḥammad were in the Book, how we would have expected his coming and longed for it, as we expected with an eager desire to meet those about whom the prophets wrote, when they actually came or they were about to come. Further, what closer relationship have we with the Jews than with the Arabs that we should have accepted the Christ who appeared from the Jews while rejecting the Prophet that appeared from the Arabs ? Our natural relationship with the Jews and with the Arabs is on the same footing. Truth to tell, the Jews, before the appearance of Christ, were honoured more than all other nations by God and by men, but after the sublime appearance of the Word-God from them,

since they shut their eyes in order not to rejoice in the light that came to enlighten the world, they have been despised and dejected, and they thought of God as other people did.

“A shell is kept in the royal treasures as long as it contains a pearl, but when the pearl has been extracted from it, it is thrown outside and trodden under the feet of everyone. In this same way are the Jews : as long as the Christ had not appeared from them, but was hidden in them as a pearl is hidden in a shell, they were respected by all men, and God showed them to others, as a glorious and enlightened people, by means of the numerous signs and wonders that He performed among them ; but after the appearance from them of the Christ-God in the flesh, and their rejection of His revelation and their turning away from Him, they were delivered to slavery among all other peoples.

“The Jews are, therefore, despised to-day and rejected by all, but the contrary is the case with the Arabs, who are to-day held in great honour and esteem by God and men, because they forsook idolatry and polytheism, and worshipped and honoured one God ; in this they deserve the love and the praise of all ; if, therefore, there was an allusion to their Prophet in the Books, not only we would not have introduced any changes in it, but we would have accepted him with great joy and pleasure, in the same way as we are expecting the one of whom we spoke, and who is going to appear at the end of the world. We are not the correctors but the observers of the commandments of God.”

And our Sovereign said with a jocular smile : “We shall hear you about these at some other time, when business affairs give us a better opportunity for such an intimate exchange of words.”

And I praised God, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, who grants to earthly Kings such a wisdom and understanding in order that through them they may administer their Empire without hindrance. And I blessed also his Majesty and prayed that God may preserve him to the world for many years and establish his throne in piety and righteousness for ever and ever. And in this way I left him on the first day.

HERE END THE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS OF THE FIRST DAY.

THE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS OF THE SECOND DAY.

The next ¹ day I had an audience of his Majesty. Such audiences had constantly taken place previously, sometimes for the affairs of the State, and some other times for the love of wisdom and learning which was burning in the soul of his Majesty. He is a lovable man, and loves also learning when he finds it in other people, and on this account he directed against me the weight of his objections, whenever necessary.

After I had paid to him my usual respects as King of Kings, he began to address me and converse with me not in a harsh and haughty tone, since harshness and haughtiness are remote from his soul, but in a sweet and benevolent way.

And our King of Kings said to me : " O Catholicos, did you bring a Gospel with you, as I had asked you ?"—And I replied to his exalted Majesty : " I have brought one, O our victorious and God-loving King."—And our victorious Sovereign said to me : " Who gave you this Book ?"—And I replied to him : " It is the Word of God that gave us the Gospel, O our God-loving King."—And our King said : " Was it not written by four Apostles ?" ² And I replied to him : " It was written by four Apostles, as our King has said, but not out of their own heads, but out of what they heard and learned from the Word-God. If then the Gospel was written by the Apostles, and if the Apostles simply wrote what they heard and learned from the Word-God, the Gospel has, therefore, been given in reality by the Word-God. Similarly, the Torah was written by Moses, but since Moses heard and learned it from an angel, and the angel heard and learned it from God, we assert that the Torah was given by God and not by Moses.

" In the same way also the Muslims say that they have received the *Qur'ān* from Muḥammad, but since Muḥammad received knowledge and writing from an angel, they, therefore, affirm that the Book that was divulged through him was not Muḥammad's or the angel's but God's. So also we Christians believe that although the Gospel was given to us by the Apostles, it was not given as from them but as from God, His Word and His Spirit. Further, the letters

¹ Or possibly : On another occasion.

² Here also the *Qur'ānic* Arabic word *ḥawāriyūn*.

and official documents¹ of your Majesty are written by the hands of scribes and clerks, but they are not said to be those of scribes, but those of your Majesty, and of the Commander of the Faithful."

And our gracious and wise King said to me : " What do you say about Muḥammad ?"—And I replied to his Majesty : " Muḥammad is worthy of all praise, by all reasonable people, O my Sovereign. He walked in the path of the prophets, and trod in the track of the lovers of God. All the prophets taught the doctrine of one God, and since Muḥammad taught the doctrine of the unity of God, he walked, therefore, in the path of the prophets. Further, all the prophets drove men away from bad works, and brought them nearer to good works, and since Muḥammad drove his people away from bad works and brought them nearer to the good ones, he walked, therefore, in the path of the prophets. Again, all the prophets separated men from idolatry and polytheism, and attached them to God and to His cult, and since Muḥammad separated his people from idolatry and polytheism, and attached them to the cult and the knowledge of one God, beside whom there is no other God, it is obvious that he walked in the path of the prophets. Finally Muḥammad taught about God, His Word and His Spirit, and since all the prophets had prophesied about God, His Word and His Spirit, Muḥammad walked, therefore, in the path of all the prophets.

" Who will not praise, honour and exalt the one who not only fought for God in words, but showed also his zeal for Him in the sword ? As Moses did with the Children of Israel when he saw that they had fashioned a golden calf which they worshipped, and killed all of those who were worshipping it, so also Muḥammad evinced an ardent zeal towards God, and loved and honoured Him more than his own soul, his people and his relatives. He praised, honoured and exalted those who worshipped God with him, and promised them kingdom, praise and honour from God, both in this world and in the world to come in the Garden.² But those who worshipped idols and not God he fought and opposed, and showed to them the torments of hell and of the fire which is never quenched and in which all evildoers burn eternally.

" And what Abraham, that friend and beloved of God, did in

¹ Arab, *tūmār*.

² The Paradise of the *Ḳur'ān*.

turning his face from idols and from his kinsmen, and looking only towards one God and becoming the preacher of one God to other peoples, this also Muḥammad did. He turned his face from idols and their worshippers, whether those idols were those of his own kinsmen or of strangers, and he honoured and worshipped only one God. Because of this God honoured him exceedingly and brought low¹ before his feet two powerful kingdoms which roared in the world like a lion and made the voice of their authority heard in all the earth that is below heaven like thunder, viz : the Kingdom of the Persians and that of the Romans. The former kingdom, that is to say the Kingdom of the Persians, worshipped the creatures instead of the Creator, and the latter, that is to say the Kingdom of the Romans, attributed suffering and death in the flesh to the one who cannot suffer and die in any way and through any process.² He further extended the power of his authority through the Commander of the Faithful and his children from east to west, and from north to south. Who will not praise, O our victorious King, the one whom God has praised, and will not weave a crown of glory and majesty to the one whom God has glorified and exalted ? These and similar things I and all God-lovers utter about Muḥammad, O my sovereign."

And our King said to me : "You should, therefore, accept the words of the Prophet."—And I replied to his gracious Majesty : "Which words of his our victorious King believes that I must accept ?"—And our King said to me : "That God is one and that there is no other one besides Him."—And I replied : "This belief in one God, O my Sovereign, I have learned from the Torah, from the Prophets and from the Gospel. I stand by it and shall die in it."—And our victorious King said to me : "You believe in one God, as you said, but one in three."—And I answered his sentence : "I do not deny that I believe in one God in three, and three in one, but not in three different Godheads, however, but in the persons of God's Word and His Spirit. I believe that these three constitute one God, not in their person but in their nature. I have shown how in my previous words."

And our King asked : "How is it that these three persons whom you mention do not constitute three Gods ?" And I answered his

¹ Put a *wāw* before the verb.

² Allusion to the Jacobites and Melchites.

Majesty : "Because the three of them constitute one God, O our victorious King, and the fact that He is only one God precludes the hypothesis that there are three Gods."—And our King retorted : "The fact that there are three precludes the statement that there is only one God. If there are three, how can they be one?"—And I replied : "We believe that they are three, O our Sovereign, not in Godhead, but in persons, and that they are one not in persons but in Godhead."—And our King retorted : "The fact that they are three precludes the statement that they are one, and the fact that they are one precludes the statement that they are three. This everybody will admit."—And I said to him : "The three in Him are the cause of one, and the one that of three, O our King. Those three have always been the cause of one, and that one of three."—And our King said to me : "How can one be the cause of three and three of one? What is this?"—And I answered his question : "One is the cause of three, O our King, because this number one is the cause of the number two, and the number two that of the number three. This is, how, one is the cause of three, as I said, O King. On the other hand the number three is also the cause of the number one because since the number three is caused by the number two and this number two by the number one, the number three is therefore the cause of number one."

And our King said to me : "In this process the number four would also be the cause of number five and so on, and the question of one Godhead would resolve itself into many Godheads, which, as you say, is the doctrine not of the Christians but of the Magians."—And I replied to our King : "In every comparison there is a time at which one must stop, because it does not resemble reality in everything. We should remember that all numbers are included in number three. Indeed the number three is both complete and perfect¹ and all numbers are included in a complete and perfect number. In this number three all other numbers are included, O our victorious King. Above three all other numbers are simply numbers added to themselves, by means of that complete and perfect number, as it is said. It follows from all this that one is the cause of three and three of one, as we suggested."—And our King said to me : "Neither three nor two can possibly be said of God."—And I replied to his Majesty : "Neither, therefore,

¹ Cf. the medieval Latin adage : *Omne trinum perfectum*.

one."—And our King asked : "How?"—And I answered : "If the cause of three is two, the cause of two would be one, and in this case the cause of three would also be one. If then God cannot be said to be three, and the cause of three is two and that of two one, God cannot, therefore be called one either. Indeed this number one being the cause and the beginning of all numbers, and there being no number in God, we should not have applied it to Him. As, however, we do apply this number to God without any reference to the beginning of an arithmetical number, we apply to Him also the number three without any implication of multiplication or division of Gods, but with a particular reference to the Word and the Spirit of God, through which heaven and earth have been created, as we have demonstrated in our previous colloquy.¹ If the number three cannot be applied to God, since it is caused by the number one, the latter could not by inference be applied to God either, but if the number one can be applied to God, since this number one is the cause of the number three, the last number can therefore be applied also to God."

And our victorious King said : "The number three denotes plurality, and since there cannot be plurality in Godhead, this number three has no room at all in Godhead."—And I replied to his Majesty : "The number one is also the cause and the beginning of all number, O our King, and number is the cause of plurality. Since there cannot be any kind of plurality in God, even the number one would have no room in Him."—And our King said : "the number one as applied to God is attested in the Book."—And I said : "So also is the case, O our King, with a number implying plurality. We find often such a number in the Torah, in the Prophets and in the Gospel, and as I hear, in your Book also, not, however, in connection with Godhead but in relation to humanity."

"So far as the Torah is concerned it is written in it, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness ;'² and 'The man is become as

¹ The Christian apologist Kindi (*Risālah*, p. 35) develops this same idea of number one and number three to his adversary 'Abdallah b. Ismā'īl al-Hāshimi and concludes as follows : "In number (also God is one because) He embraces all sorts of numbers, and number in itself is not numbered. Number, however, is divided into an even number and an odd number, and both even and odd numbers are finally included in the number three." *Risālah*, p. 36.

² Gen. i. 26.

one of us ;¹ and, ' Let us go down, and there confound their language.'² As to the Prophets, it is witten in them, ' Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts ;'³ and ' The Lord God and his Spirit hath sent me ;'⁴ and ' By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all His hosts by the Spirit of His mouth.'⁵ As to the Gospel, it is written in it, ' Go ye and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.'⁶ As to your Book, it is written in it, ' And we sent to her our Spirit,'⁷ and ' We breathed into her from our Spirit,'⁸ and ' We fashioned,' ' We said,' ' We did,' and all such expressions which are said of God in a plural form. If the Holy Books refer these words to God in a plural form, what the Books say concerning God we have to say and admit. Since we had to preserve without change the number one as applied to God, we had also by inference to preserve without modification the number three, that is to say plurality, as applied to Him. The number one refers to nature and Godhead, and the number three to God, His Word and His Spirit, because God has never been, is not, and will never be, without Word and Spirit."⁹

And our wise Sovereign said : " The plural form in connection with God, in the expressions ' We sent,' ' We breathed,' ' We said,' etc., has been used in the Books not as a sign of persons or of Trinity, but as a mark of Divine majesty and power. It is even the habit of the kings and governors of the earth to use such a mode of speech." —And I replied to the wealth of his intelligence : " What your glorious Majesty has said is true. To you God gave knowledge and understanding along with power and greatness, more than to all other countries and kings. The community of all mankind, whether composed of freemen or of subjected races is personified in the kings, and the

¹ Gen. iii. 22

² Gen. xi. 7. The very same argument taken from the plural of majesty to prove the Trinity is used by Kindi in his *Apology* for Christianity (*Risālah*, pp. 40-44), where the same Biblical verses are quoted to the same effect.

³ Is. vi. 3.

⁴ Is. xlviii. 16.

⁵ Ps. xxx. 6 (Peshitta).

⁶ Matt. xxviii. 19.

⁷ Kur'ān, xix. 17 (read *luāthāh* in fem.).

⁸ Kur'ān, xxi. 91 (read *bāh* in fem.).

⁹ The idea that there was no time in which God could have been devoid of mind and life or otherwise of word and spirit is developed also by Kindi in his *Apology* for Christianity, *Risālah*, p. 39.

community of mankind being composed of innumerable persons, the kings rightly make use of the plural form in expressions such as, 'We ordered,' 'We said,' 'We did,' etc. Indeed the kings represent collectively all the community of mankind individually. If all men are one with the king, and the king orders, says and does, all men order, say and do in the king, and he says and does in the name of all.

"Further, the kings are human beings, and human beings are composed of body and soul, and the body is in its turn composed of the power of the four elements. Because a human being is composed of many elements, the kings make use not unjustly of the plural form of speech, such as 'We did,' 'We ordered,' etc.¹ As to God who is simple in His nature and one in His essence and remote from all division and bodily composition, what greatness and honour can possibly come to Him when He, who is one and undivided against Himself, says in the plural form, 'We ordered,' and, 'We did?' The greatest honour that can be offered to God is that He should be believed in by all as He is. In His essence He is one, but He is three because of His Word and His Spirit. This Word and this Spirit are living beings and are of His nature, as the word and the spirit of our victorious King are of his nature, and he is one King with his word and spirit, which are constantly with him without cessation, without division and without displacement.

"When, therefore, expressions such as, '*We* spoke,' '*We* said,' '*We* did,' and '*Our* image and likeness,' are said to refer to God, His Word and His Spirit, they are referred in the way just described, O King of Kings. Who is more closely united to God than His Word through which He created all, governs all and directs all? Or who is nearer to Him than His Spirit through which He vivifies, sanctifies and renews all? David spoke thus: 'By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all His hosts by the Spirit of His mouth;' ² and, 'He sent His Word and healed them, and delivered them from destruction;' ³ and 'Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit and they are created, and Thou renewest the face of the earth.'⁴

"If one asserts that the expressions, '*Our* image' and '*Our* like-

¹ Put a *wāw* before *d-akkh*. This idea is developed by Kindi in his *Apology* (*Risālah* p. 42) on the same lines.

² Ps. xxxiii. 6 (Peshitta).

³ Ps. cvii. 20.

⁴ Ps. civ. 30.

ness' used by Moses and the expressions, '*We* made,' and '*We* breathed,' used by Muḥammad,¹ do not refer to God but to the angels, how disgraceful it would be to believe that the image and the likeness of God and those of the angels, that is of the creator and the created, are one ! How dishonourable it would be to affirm that God says, orders and does with the angels and His creatures ! God orders and does like the Lord and the creator, and orders and does in a way that transcends that of all others ; but the angels being creatures and servants, do not order with God, but are under the order of God ; they do not create with God, but are very much created by God. The angels are what David said about them, 'Who maketh His angels spirits and His ministers a flaming fire.'² In this he shows that they are made and created.

"As to the Word and Spirit of God the prophet David says that they are not created and made, but creators and makers :³ '*By* the Word of the Lord were the heavens made,' and not His Word alone ; and 'the heavenly hosts were created *by* His Spirit' and not His Spirit alone ; and, 'Because He said and they were made, and He commanded and they were created.'⁴ It is obvious that one who 'says,' 'says' and 'commands' by word, and that the word precedes the action, and the thought precedes the deed. Since God is one without any other before Him, with Him and after Him, and since all the above expressions which denote plurality cannot be ascribed to angels, and since the nature of God is absolutely free from all compositions—to whom could we ascribe then all such expressions ? I believe, O our victorious King, that they refer to the Word and the Spirit of God. If it is right that the expression 'One God' is true, it is also right that the expression 'We ordered,' 'We said,' and 'We breathed from our Spirit' are without doubt true and not false. It is also possible that the three letters placed before some Sūrahs in the Ḳur'ān, as I have learned, such as A.L.R. and Ṭ.S.M. and Y.S.M. and others,

¹ This Ḳur'ānic use of the plural *we* in connection with God is also taken as an argument in favour of the Trinity by the Christian apologist Kindi. *Risālah*, p. 42.

² Ps. civ. 4.

³ It would perhaps be better to put the verbs and pronouns of this sentence in plural.

⁴ Ps. cxlviii. 5.

which are three in number, refer also in your Book to God, His Word and His Spirit.¹

And our victorious King said : " And what did impede the Prophet from saying that this was so, that is that these letters clearly referred to God, His Word and His Spirit ?"—And I replied to his Majesty : " The obstacle might have come from the weakness of those people who would be listening to such a thing. People whose ears were accustomed to the multiplicity of idols and false gods could not have listened to the doctrine of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or to that of one God, His Word, and His Spirit. They would have believed that this also was polytheism. This is the reason why your Prophet proclaimed openly the doctrine of one God, but that of the Trinity he only showed it in a somewhat veiled and mysterious way, that is to say through his mention of God, and of His Spirit and through the expressions ' We sent our Spirit ' and ' We fashioned a complete man. ' ² He did not teach it openly in order that his hearers may not be scandalised by it and think of polytheism, and he did not hide it completely in order that he may not deviate from the path followed by Moses, Isaiah, and other prophets, but he showed it symbolically by means of the three letters that precede the Sūrah.

" The ancient prophets had also spoken of the unity of the nature of God and used words referring to this unity in an open and clear way, but the words which referred to His three persons they used them in a somewhat veiled and symbolical way. They did so not for any other reason than that of the weakness of men whose mind was bound up in idolatry and polytheism. When, however, Christ appeared to us in the flesh, He proclaimed openly and clearly what the prophets had said in a veiled and symbolical way, ' Go ye,' said

¹ The Patriarch refers here to the mysterious letters placed at the beginning of some Sūrahs of the Kur'an. It is highly interesting to learn that the Christians at the very beginning of the 'Abbasid dynasty understood them to refer to the Holy Trinity. In the Kur'an of our day the letters A.L.R. are found before Sūrahs 10, 11, 12, 14 and 15, and the letters T.S.M. before Sūrahs xxvi. and xxviii., but the three letters Y.S.M. are not found before any Sūrah at all, but Sūrah xxxvi has only the two letters Y.S. Why this last change in our modern Kur'an ? There is no question of a copyist's error in the Syriac text, because the letters are named in words and not written in figures only.

² Kur'anic expressions.

He to His Disciples, 'and baptise all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.'¹ Moses also uttered the same thing in a way that means both one and three, 'Hear, O Israel,' said he, 'The Lord your God is one Lord.'² In saying He 'is one,' he refers to the one nature of Godhead, and in saying the three words, 'Lord, God, and Lord' he refers to the three persons of that Godhead, as if one was saying that God, His Word and His Spirit were one eternal God. Job also said, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken ; blessed be the name of the Lord.'³ In blessing the single name of the Lord, Job used it three times, in reference to one in three."

And our King said to me : " If He is one, He is not three ; and if He is three, He is not one ; what is this contradiction ?"—And I answered : " The sun is also one, O our victorious King, in its spheric globe, its light and its heat, and the very same sun is also three, one sun in three powers. In the same way the soul has the powers of reason and intelligence, and the very same soul is one in one thing and three in another thing. In the same way also a piece of three gold denarii, is called one and three, one in its gold that is to say in its nature, and three in its persons that is to say in the number of denarii. The fact that the above objects are one does not contradict and annul the other fact—that they are also three, and the fact that they are three does not contradict and annul the fact that they are also one.

" In the very same way the fact that God is one does not annul the other fact that He is in three persons, and the fact that He is in three persons does not annul the other fact that He is one God. Man is a being which is living, rational and mortal, and he is one and three, one in being one man and three in being living, rational and mortal, and this idea gives rise to three notions not contradictory but rather confirmatory to one another. By the fact that man is one, he is by necessity living, rational and mortal, and by the fact that he is living, rational and mortal, he is by necessity one man. This applies also to God in whom the fact of His being three does not annul the other fact that He is one and *vice versa*, but these two facts confirm and corroborate each other. If He is one God, He is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit ; and if He is the Father, the Son, and the Holy

¹ Matt. xxviii. 19.

² Deut. vi. 4.

³ Job. i. 21.

Spirit, He is one God, because the eternal nature of God consists in Fatherhood, Filiation, and Procession, and in the three of them He is one God, and in being one God He is the three of them."

And our King said to me : " Do you say that the nature of God is composed of the above three, as the human nature is composed of its being living, rational, and mortal, and as the sun is composed of light, heat, and sphericity, and as the soul is composed of reason and intelligence, and as gold is composed of height, depth, and width ?"—And I denied this and said : " No, this is not so."—And our King said to me : " Why then do you wish to demonstrate with bodily demonstrations One who has no body and is not composed ?"—And I answered his Majesty : " Because there is no other God like Him, from whom I might draw a demonstration as to what is a being that has no beginning and no end."—And our King said to me : " It is never allowed to draw a demonstration from the creatures concerning the Creator."—And I said to Him : " We will then be in complete ignorance of God, O King of Kings."

And our King said : " Why ?"—And I answered : " Because all that we say about God is deducted from natural things that we have with us ; as such are the adjectives : King of all Kings, Lord of all Lords, Mighty, Powerful, Omnipotent, Light, Wisdom, and Judge. We call God by these and similar adjectives from things that are with us, and it is from them that we take our demonstration concerning God. If we remove Him from such demonstrations and do not speak of Him through them, with what and through what could we figure in our mind Him who is higher than all image and likeness ?"

And our victorious King said to me : " We call God by these names, not because we understand Him to resemble things that we have with us, but in order to show that He is far above them, without comparison. In this way, we do not attribute to God things that are with us, we rather ascribe to ourselves things that are His, with great mercy from Him and great imperfection from us. Words such as : kingdom, life, power, greatness, honour, wisdom, sight, knowledge, and justice, etc., belong truly, naturally and eternally to God, and they only belong to us in an unnatural, imperfect, and temporal way. With God they have not begun and they will not end, but with us children of men they began and they will end."

And I replied to his Majesty : " All that your Majesty said on

this subject, O our victorious King, has been said with perfect wisdom and great knowledge ; this is especially true of what you have just now said. It was not indeed with the intention of lowering God to a comparison with His creatures, that from the latter I drew a comparison concerning Him who, in reality, has no comparison with the created beings at all. I made use of such similes solely for the purpose of uplifting my mind from the created things to God. All the things that we have with us compare very imperfectly with the things of God. Even in saying of God that He is one, we introduce in our mind division concerning Him, because when we say for instance one man, one angel, one denarius, one pearl, we immediately think of a division that singles out and separates one denarius from many denarii, one pearl from many pearls, one angel from many angels, and one man from many men.

“A man would not be counting rightly but promiscuously if He were to say : one man and two angels, one horse and two asses, one denarius and two pence, one pearl and two emeralds. Every entity is counted with the entities of its own species, and we say : one, two, or three men ; one, two, or three angels ; one, two, or three denarii ; one, two, or three pearls, as the case may be. With all these calculations in saying one we introduce, as I said, the element of division, but in speaking of God we cannot do the same thing, because there are no other entities of the same species as Himself which would introduce division in Him in the same sense as in our saying : one angel or one man. He is one, single and unique in His nature. Likewise when we say three we do not think of bodies or numbers, and when we say : Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, we do not say it in a way that implies division, separation, or promiscuity, but we think of it as something high above us in a divine, incomprehensible, and indescribable way.

“Our fathers and our children were born from marital union and intercourse, and their fatherhood and filiation have a beginning and an end. Further, a father was a son before becoming a father, and all relationships are liable to natural dissolution and cessation. As to Fatherhood, Filiation, and Procession in God they are not in a way similar to those of our humanity, but in a divine way that mind cannot comprehend. They do not arise from any intercourse between them, nor are they from time or in the time but eternally without beginning and without end. Since the above three attributes are of the nature

of God, and the nature of God has no beginning and no end, they also are without a beginning and without an end. And since He who is without a beginning and without an end is also unchangeable, that Fatherhood, therefore, that Filiation and that Procession are immutable and will remain without any modification. The things that are with us give but an imperfect comparison with the things that are above, because things that are God's are above comparison and likeness, as we have already demonstrated."

And our victorious King said : "The mind of rational beings will not agree to speak of God who is eternally one in Himself in terms of Trinity."—And I answered : "Since the mind of the rational beings is created, and no created being can comprehend God, you have rightly affirmed, O King of Kings, that the mind of the rational beings will not agree to speak of one God in terms of Trinity. The mind, however, of the rational beings can only extend to the acts of God, and even then in an imperfect and partial manner ; as to the nature of God we learn things that belong to it not so much from our rational mind as from the Books of Revelation, i.e. from what God Himself has revealed and taught about Himself through His Word and Spirit :

"The Word of God said, 'No one knoweth the Father but the Son, and no one knoweth the Son but the Father,'¹ and, 'The Spirit searcheth all things even the deep things of God.'² No one knows what there is in man except man's own spirit that is in him, so also no one knows what is in God except the Spirit of God. The Word and the Spirit of God, being eternally from His own nature—as heat and light from the sun, and as reason³ and mind from the soul—alone see and know the Divine nature, and it is they who have revealed and taught us in the sacred Books that God is one and three, as I have already shown in my above words from the Torah, the Prophets, the Gospel, and the Kūr'ān according to what I have learned from those who are versed in the knowledge of your Book.

"Were it not for the fact that His Word and His Spirit were eternally from His own nature God would not have spoken of Himself in the Torah, as, '*Our image and Our likeness* ;'⁴ and 'Behold

¹ John *passim*.

² 1 Cor. ii. 10.

³ Here also the same Syriac word *milltha* means "word" and "reason."

⁴ Gen. i. 26.

the man is become as one of *us* ;¹ and ' Let us go down and there confound their language ;'² and the *Kur'ān* would not have said, ' And we sent to her *our* Spirit ;'³ and ' We breathed into her from *our* Spirit ;'⁴ and ' *We* did,' ' *We* said,' and so on. By such expressions (The *Kur'ān*) refers to God and His Word and His Spirit as we have said above. Has not the mind of the rational beings, O our victorious Sovereign, to follow the words of God rather than its own fanciful conceptions? The inspired Books are surely right, and since we find in them that one and the same prophet speaks of God as one and as three, we are compelled by the nature of the subject to believe it."

And our powerful Sovereign said to me : " How does the nature of the subject compel us to believe it ?"—And I answered : " Because my Sovereign and my King granted full freedom to his obedient servant to speak before him, may I further implore your Majesty to be willing that I ask more questions ?" And our King said : " Ask anything you want."—And I then said : " Is not God a simple and uncircumscribed Spirit ?"—And our King said " Yes."—And I asked his Majesty : " Does He perceive in an uncircumscribed way with all His being, or does He perceive like us with one part only and not with another ?"—And our King answered : " He perceives with all its nature without any circumscription."—And I asked : " Was there any other thing with Him from eternity, or not ?"—And our King answered : " Surely not."—And I asked : " Does not a perceiver perceive a perceived object ?" And our King answered : " Yes."

And I then asked : " If God is a perceiver and knower from the beginning and from eternity, a perceiver and a knower perceives and knows a perceived and known object, and because there was no created thing that was eternally with God—since He created afterwards when He wished—in case there was no other being with Him, whom He might perceive and know eternally, how could He be called a perceiver and a knower in a Divine and eternal sense, and before the creation of the world ?"

And our victorious King answered : " What you have said is true.

¹ Gen. iii. 22.

² Gen. xi. 7.

³ *Kur'ān* xix. 17. (Here also read *lwāthah* in fem.)

⁴ *Kur'ān* xxi. 91 (Here also read *bah* in fem.)

It is indeed necessary that a perceiver should perceive a perceived object, and the knower a known one, but it is possible to say that He perceived and knew His own self."—And I asked : "If He is all a perceiver without any circumscription, so that He does not perceive and know with one part and is perceived and known with another part, how can a perceiver of this kind perceive Himself ? The eye of man is the perceiver and it perceives the other objects, but it can never perceive its own self except with another eye like itself, because the sight of the eye is unable to perceive itself. If the sight of the composed eye cannot be divided into parts so that a part of it perceives itself, and the other part is perceived by itself, how can we think of God who is a Spirit without body, without division, and without parts that He perceives Himself and is perceived by Himself ?"

And our intelligent Sovereign asked : "Which of the two do you admit : does God perceive Himself or not ?"—And I answered : "Yes ; He perceives and knows Himself with a sight that has no limits and a knowledge that has no bounds."—And our King asked : "How is it that your argumentation and reasoning concerning divisions, separations, and partitions do not rebound against you ?"—And I replied to him : "God perceives and knows Himself through His Word and the Spirit that proceeds from Him. The Word and the Spirit are a clear mirror of the Father, a mirror that is not foreign to Him but of the same essence and nature as Himself, without any limits and bounds. He was perceiving His Word, His Spirit, and His creatures, divinely, eternally, and before the worlds, with this difference, however, that He was perceiving and knowing His Word and His Spirit as His nature, His very nature, and He was eternally perceiving and knowing His creatures not as His nature but as His creatures. He was perceiving and knowing His Word and His Spirit as existing divinely and eternally, and His creatures not as existing then but as going to exist in the future. Through His Word and His Spirit He perceives and knows the beauty, the splendour, and the infiniteness of His own nature, and through His creatures the beauty of His wisdom, of His power, and of His goodness, now, before now, and before all times, movements, and beginnings."

And our King asked philosophically : "Are they parts of one another, and placed at a distance from one another, so that one part

perceives and the other is perceived?"—And I replied to his Majesty : "No, not so, O King of Kings. They are not parts of one another, because a simple being has no parts and no composition ; nor are they placed at a distance one from the other, because the infiniteness of God, of His Word, and of His Spirit is one. The Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Spirit, without any break, distance, and confusion of any kind, as the soul is in the reason and the reason in the mind, without break and confusion ; and as the spheric globe of the sun is in its light, and this light in its heat ; and as the colour, scent, and taste are in the apple, without any break, confusion, and promiscuity. All figures, comparisons, and images, are far below that adorable and ineffable nature of God, so there is fear that we may be falsely held to believe in the plurality of Godhead."

And our powerful and wise King said : "There is such a fear indeed."—And I said : "O King of Kings, this would arise in case we diminished something from Godhead, just as well as if we added something to it. As it is a blasphemy to add something to Godhead, it is also a blasphemy to diminish something from it in our belief, and as it is not allowed to add anything to the sun or to the pearl, so it is not allowed to diminish anything from them. He who divests God of His Word and His Spirit, resembles the one who would divest the sun of its light and its heat, and the soul of its reason and its mind, and the pearl of its beauty and its lustre. As it is impossible to conceive a pearl without lustre, or a sun without light, or a soul without reason and mind, so it is never possible that God should be without Word and Spirit. If, therefore, Word and Spirit are God's by nature, and God is eternal, it follows that the Word and the Spirit of God are also eternal. They are not added to Him from outside that one might think of the plurality of Godhead, but it is of the essence of God to possess both Word and Spirit."

And our victorious King said : "In your previous words you said that the perceiver perceives the one that is perceived, and the one that is perceived perceives also the one that perceives ; and that if they be near a thing they are all there at the same time, because the Word and the Spirit of God are the object that is perceived by God and are eternal like the perceiver ; and if there is no perceiver there is no perceived object either, and if there is no perceived object there is no perceiver. Did you say these things, or not?"—And I answered :

"I did say them, O our victorious King."—And the King of Kings said: "But it is possible that God was perceiving His creatures before He created them."—And I said: "O our victorious King, we cannot think or say otherwise. God perceived and knew eternally His creatures, before He brought them into being."

And our King said: "The nature of the subject will not compel us, therefore, to believe that if the perceiver is eternal, the perceived should also be eternal, because the fact that God is an eternal perceiver of the creature does not carry with it the necessity that the creature which is perceived by Him is also eternal, and the fact that the creature is perceived does not carry with it the necessity that He also is the perceived object like it. As such a necessity as that you were mentioning in the case of the creature has been vitiated, so also is the case with regard to the Word and the Spirit."

And I said: "O our King, it is not the same kind of perception that affects the creature on the one hand, and the Word and the Spirit on the other. This may be known and demonstrated as follows: it is true that God was perceiving the creature eternally, but the creature is not infinite, and God is infinite, the creature has a limited perceptibility, and the perception of God has no limits. Further, the nature of God having no limits, His knowledge also has no limits, as the divine David says, 'His understanding is infinite.'¹ If God, therefore, has any perception, and if He is infinite and unlimited, that perception must by necessity be infinite and unlimited, and if His perception is infinite, it perceives a perceived object that is likewise infinite; but the perceived object that is infinite being only the nature of God, it follows that His Word and His Spirit are from His nature, in the same way as the word and the spirit of a man are from human nature. It is, therefore, obvious that if God is an infinite perceiver, the Word and the Spirit that are from Him are also infinite.

"God knows His Word and His Spirit in an infinite way as His Knowledge and His perception are infinite, but He perceives and knows His creature not in the same infinite way as are His perception and His Knowledge, but in a finite way according to the limits of the creature and of the human nature. He perceived His creature only

¹ Ps. cxlvii. 5.

through His prescience, and not as a substance that is of the same nature as Himself, and, on the contrary, He perceived the Word and the Spirit not through His prescience but as a substance that is of the same nature as Himself. This is the reason why the prophet David said, 'For ever, art thou O Lord, and Thy Word is settled in heaven ;'¹ and likewise the prophet Isaiah, 'The grass withereth and the flower fadeth, but the Word of our Lord shall stand forever,'² In this passage Isaiah counts all the world as grass and flower, and the Word and the Spirit of God as something imperishable, immortal, and eternal.

"If, therefore, God is an infinite perceiver, the object that is perceived by Him has also to be infinite, in order that His perception of the perceived should not be incomplete in places. And who is this infinite-perceived except the Word and the Spirit of God? God indeed was not without perception and a perceived object of the same nature as Himself till He brought His creature into being, but He possessed along with His eternal perception and eternal knowledge a perceived object that was eternal and a known object that was also eternal. It is not permissible to say of God that He was not a perceiver and a knower, till the time in which He created. And if God is eternally a perceiver and a knower, and if a perceiver of the perceived and a knower of the known is truly a perceiver and a knower, and if His Word and His Spirit were perceived by Him divinely and eternally, it follows that these same Word and Spirit were eternally with Him. As to His creatures, He created them afterwards, when He wished, by means of His Word and His Spirit."

And our King said to me : "O Catholicos, if this is your religion and that of the Christians, I will say this, that the Word and the Spirit are also creatures of God, and there is no one who is uncreated except one God."—And I replied : "If the Word and the Spirit are also creatures of God like the rest, by means of whom did God create the heaven and the earth and all that they contain? The Books teach us that He created the world by means of His Word and His Spirit—by means of whom did He then create this Word and this Spirit? If He created them by means of another word and another spirit, the same conclusion would also be applied to them : will they

¹ Ps. cxix. 89 (Peshitta).

² Is. xl. 8.

be created or uncreated ? If uncreated, the religion of the Catholicos and of the Christians is vindicated ; and if created, by means of whom did God create them ? And this process of gibberish argumentation will go on indefinitely until we stop at that Word and that Spirit hidden eternally in God, by means of whom we assert that the worlds were created."

And the King said : " You appear to believe in three heads, O Catholicos."—And I said : " This is certainly not so, O our victorious King. I believe in one head, the eternal God the Father, from whom the Word shone and the Spirit radiated eternally, together, and before all times, the former by way of filiation and the latter by way of procession, not in a bodily but in a divine way that befits God. This is the reason why they are not three separate Gods. The Word and the Spirit are eternally from the single nature of God, who is not one person divested of word and spirit as the weakness of the Jewish belief has it. He shines and emits rays eternally with the light of His Word and the radiation of His Spirit, and He is one head with His Word and His Spirit. I do not believe in God as stripped of His Word and Spirit, in the case of the former without mind¹ and reason, and in the case of the latter without spirit and life. It is only the idolators who believe in false gods or idols who have neither reason nor life."

And our victorious King said : " It seems to me that you believe in a vacuous God, since you believe that He has² a child."—And I answered : " O King, I do not believe that God is either vacuous or solid, because both these adjectives denote bodies. If vacuity and solidity belong to bodies, and God is a Spirit without a body, neither of the two qualifications can be ascribed to Him."—And the King said : " What then do you believe that God is if He is neither vacuous nor solid ?"—And I replied to His Majesty : " God is a Spirit and an incorporeal light, from whom shine and radiate eternally and divinely His Word and His Spirit. The soul begets the mind and causes reason to proceed from it, and the fire begets the light and

¹ The author is constantly playing on the Syriac word *milltha* which means both " word " and " reason."

² Cod. *is* ; the reading *ith laih* seems, however, to be better than *ithauh*. The Caliph's objection bears on the fact that since God begets, something goes out of Him and He is consequently vacuous.

causes heat to proceed from its nature, and we do not say that either the soul or fire are hollow or solid. So also is the case with regard to God, about Whom we never say that He is vacuous or solid when He makes His Word shine and His Spirit radiate from His essence eternally."

And our victorious King said : "What is the difference in God between shining and radiating ?"—And I replied : "There is the same difference between shining and radiating in God as that found in the illustration furnished by the fire and the apple : the fire begets the light and causes heat to proceed from it, and the apple begets the scent and causes the taste and savour to proceed from it. Although both the fire and the apple give rise, the former to light and heat, and the latter to scent and savour, yet they do not do it in the same manner and with an identical effect on the one and the same sense of our body. We receive the heat of the fire with the sense of feeling, the light with the eyes, the scent of the apple with the sense of smell, and the sweetness of its savour with the palate. From this it becomes clear that the mode of filiation is different from that of procession. This is as far as one can go from bodily comparisons and similes to the realities and to God."

And the King said : "You will not go very far with God in your bodily comparisons and similes."—And I said : "O King, because I am a bodily man I made use of bodily metaphors, and not of those that are without any body and any composition. Because I am a bodily man, and not a spiritual being, I make use of bodily comparisons in speaking of God. How could I or any other human being speak of God as He is with a tongue of flesh, with lips fashioned of mud, and with a soul and mind closely united to a body ? This is far beyond the power of men and angels to do. God Himself speaks with the prophets about Himself not as He is, because they cannot know and hear about Him as He is, but simply in the way that fits in with their own nature, a way they are able to understand. In His revelations to the ancient prophets sometimes He revealed Himself as man, sometimes as fire, sometimes as wind, and some other times in some other ways and similitudes.

"The divine David said, 'He then spoke in visions to His holy ones ;'¹ and the Prophet Hosea said on behalf of God, 'I have

¹ Ps. lxxxix. 19 (Peshitta).

multiplied my visions and used similitudes by the ministry of the prophets ;'¹ and one of the Apostles of Christ said, 'God at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto our fathers by the prophets.'² If God appeared and spake to the ancient in bodily similitudes and symbols, we with stronger reason find ourselves completely unable to speak of God and to understand anything concerning Him except through bodily similitudes and metaphors. I shall here make bold and assert that I hope I shall not deserve any blame from your Majesty if I say that you are in the earth the representative of God for the earthly people ; now God maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth His rain on the just and the unjust.³ Your Majesty also in the similitude of God will make us worthy of forgiveness if in the fact of being earthly beings we speak of God in an earthly way and not in a spiritual way like spiritual beings."

And our victorious King said : "You are right in what you said before and say now on the subject that God is above all the thoughts and minds of created beings, and that all the thoughts and minds of created beings are lower not only than God Himself but also His work. The fact, however, that you put the servant and the Lord on the same footing you make the creator equal with the created, and in this you fall into error and falsehood."

And I replied : "O my Sovereign, that the Word and the Spirit of God should be called servants and created I considered and consider not far from unbelief. If the Word and the Spirit are believed to be from God, and God is conceived to be a Lord and not a servant, His Word and Spirit are also, by inference, lords and not servants. It is one and the same freedom that belongs to God and to His Word and Spirit, and they are called Word and Spirit of God not in an unreal, but in a true, sense. The kingdom which my victorious Sovereign possesses is the same as that held by his word and his Spirit, so that no one separates his word and his Spirit from his kingdom, and he shines in the diadem of kingdom together with his word and his Spirit in a way that they are not three Kings, and in a way that he does not shine in the diadem of kingdom apart from his word and his Spirit.

¹ Hos. xii. 10.² Heb. i. 1.³ Matt. v. 45.

"If it please your Majesty, O my powerful Sovereign, I will also say this : the splendour and the glory of the kingdom shine in one and the same way in the Commander of the Faithful¹ and in his sons Mūsa and Hārūn,² and in spite of the fact that kingdom and lordship in them are one, their personalities are different. For this reason no one would venture to consider, without the splendour of kingdom, not only the Commander of the Faithful but also the beautiful flowers and majestic blossoms that budded and blossomed out of him ; indeed the three of them blossom in an identical kingdom, and this one and the same kingdom shines and radiates in each one of them, so that no one dares to ascribe servitude to any of them. In a small and partial way the same light of kingdom, lordship, and divinity shines and radiates eternally in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, or if one prefers to put it, in God, His Word, and His Spirit, and no one is allowed to give to any of them the name of servant. If the Word and the Spirit are servants of God, while they are from God Himself, the logical conclusion to be drawn I leave to a tongue other than mine to utter."

And the King said : " It is very easy for your tongue, O Catholicos, to prove the existence of that Lord and God, and the existence also of that consubstantial servant, and to draw conclusions sometimes or to abstain from them some other times, but the minds and the will of rational beings are induced to follow not your mind which is visible in your conclusions, but the law of nature and the inspired Books."

And I replied : " O our victorious King, I have proved my words that I have uttered in the first day and to-day both from nature and from Book. So far as arguments from nature are concerned, I argued, confirmed, and corroborated my words sometimes from the soul with its mind and its reason ; sometimes from the fire with its light and its heat ; sometimes from the apple with its scent and its savour ; and some other times from your Majesty and from the rational and royal flowers that grew from it : Mūsa and Hārūn, the sons of your Majesty. As to the inspired Books, I proved the object under

¹ The Caliph Mahdi himself.

² Hārūn is of course the future and famous Hārūn ar-Rashīd. About Mūsa, the other son of the Caliph Mahdi, see Ṭabari, *Annales*, iii. 1, pp. 452-458.

discussion sometimes from Moses, sometimes from David, and some other times I appealed to the *Qur'ān*, as a witness to prove my statement.

"God said to the prophet David and caused him further to prophesy in the following manner concerning His Word and His Spirit, 'I have set up my King on my holy hill of Zion.'¹ Before this He had called Him His Christ, 'Against the Lord and against His Christ.'² If the Christ of God is a King, it follows that the Christ is not a servant but a King. Afterwards David called Him twice Son, 'Thou art my Son and this day I have begotten Thee,'³ and, 'Kiss the Son lest the Lord be angry and ye perish from His way.'⁴ If the Christ, therefore, is a Son, as God called Him through the prophet David, and if no son is a servant, it follows, O King, that the Christ is not a servant. In another passage the same prophet David called the Christ 'Lord,' 'Son,' and 'A priest for ever,' because he said, 'The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand.'⁵ And in order to show that Christ is of the same nature and power as God, he said on behalf of the Father as follows, 'In the beauties of holiness from the womb I have begotten Thee from the beginning.'⁶ God, therefore, called Christ 'a Lord' through the prophet David, and since no true Lord is a servant, it follows that Christ is not a servant.⁷

"Further, Christ has been called through David one 'begotten of God' both 'from eternity' and 'In the beauties of holiness from the womb.' Since no one begotten of God is a servant, the Christ, therefore, O King of Kings, is not a servant and created, but He is uncreated and a Lord. God said also through the prophet Isaiah to Ahaz, King of Israel, 'Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and His name shall be called—not a servant—but Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.'⁸ The same Isaiah said, 'For unto

¹ Ps. ii. 6.

² Ps. ii. 2.

³ Ps. ii. 7.

⁴ Ps. ii. 12.

⁵ Ps. cx. 1 and 4.

⁶ Ps. cx. 3 (*Peshitta*).

⁷ The Muslim apologist, 'Ali b. Rabban Ṭabari, argues that the term "lord" in Syriac *māra* is applied sometimes in the Bible to men, and therefore in Deut. xxxiii. 23; Is. xl. 10-11 and lxiii. 14-16 the word designates Muḥammad. See *Kitāb ad-Dīn*, pp. 87, 100, and 116 of my edition. The idea that the word *māra*, "Lord," refers sometimes in the Bible to men is of course taken by Ṭabari from Syrian commentators whom he knew perfectly.

⁸ Is. vii. 14; Matt. i. 23.

us a Child—and not a servant—is born, and unto us a Son—not a servant and a created being—is given, and His name has been called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God of the Worlds.¹ If the Christ, therefore, is the Son of God, this Son of God, as God Himself spoke through the prophet Isaiah, is the ‘mighty God of the worlds,’ and not a servant in subjection, but a Lord and a Prince. It follows, O our victorious King, that the Christ is surely a Lord and a Prince, and not a servant in subjection.

“As your Majesty would wax angry if your children were called servants, so also God will be wrathful if anybody called His Word and His Spirit servants. As the honour and dishonour of the children of your Majesty redound on you, so also and in a higher degree the honour and dishonour of God’s Word and Spirit redound on Him. It is for this reason that Christ said in the Gospel, ‘He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father who hath sent Him,’² and, ‘He who honoureth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God shall abide on him.’³

“The above is written in the Gospel. I heard also that it is written in the *Qur’ān* that Christ is the Word and the Spirit of God,⁴ and not a servant. If Christ is the Word and the Spirit of God, as the *Qur’ān* testifies, He is not a servant but a Lord, because the Word and the Spirit of God are Lords. It is by this method, O our God-loving King, based on the law of nature and on divinely inspired words, and not on purely human argumentation, word, and thought, that I both in the present and in the first conversation have demonstrated the lordship and the sonship of Christ, and the Divine Trinity.”⁵

Our victorious King said : “Has not the Christ been called also several times a servant by the prophets ?”—And I said : “I am aware, O my Sovereign, of the fact that the Christ has also been called a servant, but that this appellation does not imply a real servitude is borne out by the illustration that may be taken from the status of Hārūn, the blossom and the flower of your Majesty. He is now

¹ Is. ix. 6.

² John v. 23.

³ John iii. 36, where “believeth” for “honoureth.”

⁴ *Qur’ān*, iv. 169. Cf. iii. 40.

⁵ Some of the above Biblical verses are quoted also by the Christian apologist Kindi in his *Risālah*, pp. 146-148.

called by everybody 'Heir Presumptive,'¹ but after your long reign, he will be proclaimed King and Sovereign by all. He served his military service through the mission entrusted to him by your Majesty to repair to Constantinople against the rebellious and tyrannical Byzantines.² Through this service and mission he will not lose³ his royal sonship and his freedom, nor his princely honour and glory, and acquire the simple name of servitude and subjection, like any other individual. So also is the case with the Christ, the Son of the heavenly King. He fulfilled the will of His Father in His coming on His military mission to mankind, and in His victory over sin, death, and Satan. He did not by this act lose His royal Sonship, and did not become a stranger to Divinity, Lordship, and Kingdom, nor did He put on the dishonour of servitude and subjection like any other individual.

"Further, the prophets called Him not by what He was, but by what He was believed by the Jews to be. In one place the prophets called Him, according to the belief of the Jews, 'A Servant, a Rejected one, one without form or comeliness, a Stricken one, a Smitten one, a man of many sorrows.'⁴ In another place, however, it has been said of Him that, 'He is the fairest of the children of men,'⁵ the Mighty God of the worlds, the Father of the future world, the Messenger of the Great Counsel of God, Prince of Peace, a Son, and a Child,⁶ as we demonstrated in our former replies. The last adjectives refer to His nature, and He has been spoken of through the first adjectives on account of the mission that He performed to His father for the salvation of all, and in compliance with the belief of the Jews who only looked at Him in His humanity, and were totally incapable of considering Him in the nature of His divinity that clothed itself completely with humanity.

¹ Arab. *walī al-'ahd*.

² This expedition of Hārūn, son of the Caliph Mahdī, against the Byzantines led by Nicetas and governed by the Empress Irene and Leo is told at some length on the Muslim side by Tabarī under the year A.H. 165 (A.D. 781), *Annales*, iii. i. pp. 503-505. Cf. also the historians, Ibn Khaldūn, iii. p. 213, and Muḳaddasī, p. 150, etc.

³ It appears that this second conversation between Timothy and the Caliph took place in A.D. 781, while Hārūn, the Caliph's son, had not returned yet from his expedition against the Byzantines. The sentences used in the text do not seem to yield to another interpretation.

⁴ Is. liii. 2-4.

⁵ Ps. xlv. 2.

⁶ Is. ix. 6.

"Some ignorant Byzantines who know nothing of the kingship and sonship of your son Hārūn, may consider him and call him a simple soldier and not a Prince and a King, but those who know him with certainty will not call him a simple soldier, but will consider him and call him King and Prince. In this way the prophets considered the Christ our Lord as God, King, and Son, but the unbelieving Jews believed Him to be a servant and a mere man under subjection. He has indeed been called not only a servant, on account of His service, but also a stone, a door, the way, and a lamb.¹ He was called a stone, not because He was a stone by nature, but because of the truth of His teaching; and a door, because it is through Him that we entered into the knowledge of God: and the way, because it is He who in His person opened to us the way of immortality; and a lamb, because He was immolated for the life of the world. In this same way He was called also a servant, not because He was a servant by nature, but on account of the service which He performed for our salvation, and on account of the belief of the Jews.

"I heard also that it is written in your Book that the Christ was sent not as a servant, but as a son, 'I swear by this mountain and by the begetter and His Child.'² A child is like his father, whether the latter be a servant or a freeman, and if it is written, 'The Christ doth surely not disdain to be a servant of God,'³ it is also written that God doth not disdain to be a Father to Christ because He said through the prophet about the Christ, 'He will be to Me a Son'⁴—and not a servant'—and, also 'I will make Him a first-born—not a servant—and will raise Him up above the Kings of the earth.'⁵ If Christ has been raised by God above the Kings of the earth, He who is above the Kings cannot be a servant, Christ is, therefore, O King, not a servant and one under

¹ All these adjectives are known to the Muslim apologist Ibn Rabban. *Kitāb-ad-Dīn*, p. 83 of my edition.

² Kur'an xc. 1-3, is interpreted by late Muslim commentators to mean: 'I do not swear by the Lord of the land . . . nor by the begetter and what He begets.' In the early Islam the first word was evidently read as *la-ukṣimu*, 'I shall swear' (with an affirmation), instead of *la-ukṣimu*, 'I shall not swear' (with a negation). I believe that the ancient reading and interpretation preserved in the present apology are more in harmony with the Kur'ānic text.

³ Kur'an iv. 170. The author is using the Arabic word *istankafa* as in the Kur'an.

⁴ 2 Sam. vii. 14: Heb. i. 5.

⁵ Ps. lxxxix. 27.

subjection, but a King of Kings and a Lord. It is not possible that a servant should be above angels and kings.

“God said also about the Christ through the same prophet David, ‘His name shall endure for ever, and His name is before the sun. All men shall be blessed by Him, and all shall glorify Him.’¹ How can the name of a servant endure for ever, and how can the name of a servant be before the sun and other creatures, and how can all nations be blessed by a servant, and how can all nations glorify a servant? God said to His Word and His Spirit, ‘Ask of me, and I shall give Thee the nations for Thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession. Thou shalt shepherd them with a rod of iron. Be wise now, O ye Kings, and be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and hold to Him with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest He be angry, and ye stray from His way, when His wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in Him.’² If all the nations and the uttermost parts of the earth are the inheritance and the possession of the Christ, and if he who has under his authority all the nations and the uttermost parts of the earth is not a servant, the Christ, therefore, O our victorious Sovereign, is not a servant, but a Lord and Master; and if the Kings and the judges of the earth have been ordered by God to serve the Christ with fear and hold to Him with trembling, it is impossible that this same Christ who is served, held to, and kissed by the Kings and judges of the earth should be a servant.

“It follows, O our victorious Sovereign, that the Christ is a King of Kings, since Kings worshipped and worship Him; and a Lord and judge of judges, since judges served and serve Him with fear. If He were a servant, what kind of a wrath and destruction could He bring on the unbelievers, and what kind of a blessing could He bestow on those who put their trust in Him? That He is a Lord over all and a Master over all, He testifies about Himself, and His testimony is true. Indeed He said to His disciples when He was about to ascend to heaven, and mount on the Cherubim and fly on the spiritual wings of the Seraphim, ‘All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.’³ If Christ has been given all the power of heaven and earth, He who

¹ Ps. lxxii. 17 (Peshitta). See above p. 192 how Ibn Rabban, the Muslim apologist, refers this verse to Muhammad.

² Ps. ii. 8-12 (Peshitta).

³ Matt xxviii. 18.

is constituted in this way in heaven and in earth is God over all, and Christ, therefore, is God over all. If He is not a true God, how can He have power in heaven and in earth; and if He has power in heaven and in earth, how can He not be true God? Indeed He has power in heaven and in earth because He is God, since any one who has power in heaven and in earth is God.

“The Archangel Gabriel testified to this when he announced His conception to the always virgin Mary, ‘And He shall reign over the house of Jacob, and of His Kingdom there shall be no end.’¹ If the Christ reigns for ever, and if the one who reigns for ever there is no end to his kingdom, it follows, O our Sovereign, that Christ is a Lord and God over all. The prophet Daniel testified also to this in saying, ‘I saw one like the son of men coming on the clouds of heaven, and they brought Him near before the Ancient of days, who gave Him dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all nations should serve Him and worship Him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, and His kingdom shall not pass away and be destroyed.’² If the kingdom of Christ shall not pass away and be destroyed, He is God over all, and Christ is, therefore, God over all, O our King: over the prophets and the angels.”³

“If Christ has been called by the prophets God and Lord, and if it has been said by some people that God suffered and died in the flesh, it is evident that it is the human nature that the Word-God took from us that suffered and died, because in no Book, neither in the prophets nor in the Gospel, do we find that God Himself died in the flesh, but we do find in all of them that the Son and Jesus Christ died in the flesh. The expression that God suffered and died in the flesh is not right.”

And our victorious King asked: “And who are those who say that God suffered and died in the flesh.”—And I answered: “The Jacobites and Melchites say that God suffered and died in the flesh, as to us we not only do not assert that God suffered and died in our nature, but that He even removed the passibility of our human nature that He put on from Mary by His impassibility, and its mortality by His immortality, and He made it to resemble divinity, to the extent that a created being is capable of resembling his Creator. A created

¹ Luke i. 33.

² Dan. vii. 13-14.

³ About two words are here missing in the MS.

being cannot make himself resemble his Creator, but the Creator is able to bring His creature to His own resemblance. It is not the picture that makes the painter paint a picture in its own resemblance, but it is the painter that paints the picture to his own resemblance ; it is not the wood that works and fashions a carpenter in its resemblance, but it is the carpenter that fashions the wood in his resemblance. In this same way it is not the mortal and passible nature that renders God passible and mortal like itself, but it is by necessity God that renders the passible and mortal human nature impassible and immortal like Himself. On the one hand, this is what the Jacobites and Melchites say, and, on the other, this is what we say. It behoves your Majesty to decide who are those who believe rightly and those who believe wrongly."

And our victorious King said : "In this matter you believe more rightly than the others. Who dares to assert that God dies ? I think that even demons do not say such a thing. In what, however, you say concerning one Word and Son of God, all of you are wrong."— And I replied to his Majesty : "O our victorious King, in this world we are all of us as in a dark house in the middle of the night. If at night and in a dark house a precious pearl happens to fall in the midst of people, and all become aware of its existence, every one would strive to pick up the pearl, which will not fall to the lot of all but to the lot of one only, while one will get hold of the pearl itself, another one of a piece of glass, a third one of a stone or of a bit of earth, but every one will be happy and proud that he is the real possessor of the pearl. When, however, night and darkness disappear, and light and day arise, then every one of those men who had believed that they had the pearl, would extend and stretch his hand towards the light, which alone can show what every one has in hand. He who possesses the pearl will rejoice and be happy and pleased with it, while those who had in hand pieces of glass and bits of stone only will weep and be sad, and will sigh and shed tears.

"In this same way we children of men are in this perishable world as in darkness. The pearl of the true faith fell in the midst of all of us, and it is undoubtedly in the hand of one of us, while all of us believe that we possess the precious object. In the world to come, however, the darkness of mortality passes, and the fog of ignorance dissolves, since it is the true and the real light to which the fog of ignorance is

absolutely foreign. In it the possessors of the pearl will rejoice, be happy and pleased, and the possessors of mere pieces of stone will weep, sigh, and shed tears, as we said above."

And our victorious King said : "The possessors of the pearl are not known in this world, O Catholicos."—And I answered : "They are partially known, O our victorious King."—And our victorious and very wise King said : "What do you mean by partially known, and by what are they known as such ?"—And I answered : "By good works, O our victorious King, and pious deeds, and by the wonders and miracles that God performs through those who possess the true faith. As the lustre of a pearl is somewhat visible even in the darkness of the night, so also the rays of the true faith shine to some extent even in the darkness and the fog of the present world. God indeed has not left the pure pearl of the faith completely without testimony and evidence, first in the prophets and then in the Gospel. He first confirmed the true faith in Him through Moses, once by means of the prodigies and miracles that He wrought in Egypt, and another time when He divided the waters of the Red Sea into two and allowed the Israelites to cross it safely, but drowned the Egyptians in its depths. He also split and divided the Jordan into two through Joshua, son of Nun, and allowed the Israelites to cross it without any harm to themselves, and tied the sun and the moon to their own places until the Jewish people were well avenged upon their enemies. He acted in the same way through the prophets who rose in different generations, viz. : through David, Elijah, and Elisha.

"Afterwards He confirmed the faith through Christ our Lord by the miracles and prodigies which He wrought for the help of the children of men. In this way the Disciples performed miracles greater even than those wrought by Christ. These signs, miracles, and prodigies wrought in the name of Jesus Christ are the bright rays and the shining lustre of the precious pearl of the faith, and it is by the brightness of such rays that the possessors of this pearl which is so full of lustre and so precious that it outways all the world in the balance, are known."

And our victorious King said : "We have hope in God that we are the possessors of this pearl, and that we hold it in our hands."—And I replied : "Amen, O King. But may God grant us that we too may share it with you, and rejoice in the shining and beaming

lustre of the pearl ! God has placed the pearl of His faith before all of us like the shining rays of the sun, and every one who wishes can enjoy the light of the sun.

"We pray God, who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, to preserve the crown of the kingdom and the throne of the Commander of the Faithful for multitudinous days and numerous years ! May He also raise after him Mūsa and Hārūn and 'Alī¹ to the throne of his kingdom for ever and ever ! May He subjugate before them and before their descendants after them all the barbarous nations, and may all the kings and governors of the world serve our Sovereign and his sons after him till the day in which the Kingdom of Heaven is revealed from heaven to earth !"

And our victorious King said : "Miracles have been and are sometimes performed even by unbelievers."—And I replied to his Majesty : "These, O our victorious King, are not miracles but deceptive similitudes of the demons, and are performed not by the prophets of God and by holy men, but by idolaters and wicked men. This is the reason why I said that good works and miracles are the lustre of the pearl of the faith. Indeed, Moses performed miracles in Egypt, and the sorcerers Jannes and Jambres performed them also there, but Moses performed them by the power of God, and the sorcerers through the deceptions of the demons. The power of God, however, prevailed, and that of the demons was defeated.

"In Rome also Simon Cephas and Simon Magus performed miracles, but the former performed them by the power of God, and the latter by the power of the demons, and for this reason Simon Cephas was honoured and Simon Magus was laughed at and despised by every one, and his deception was exposed before the eyes of all celestial and terrestrial beings."

At this our victorious King rose up and entered his audience chamber, and I left him and returned in peace to my patriarchal residence.

Here ends the controversy of the Patriarch Mar Timothy I. with Mahdi, the Caliph of the Muslims. May eternal praise be to God !

¹ A third son of Mahdi, nicknamed ibn Rūṭah. See Tabari, *Annales*, iii. 3, pp. 137, 501, 522, 1035. The Cod. has erroneously 'Alah.

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[illegible][illegible]

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[illegible][illegible]

